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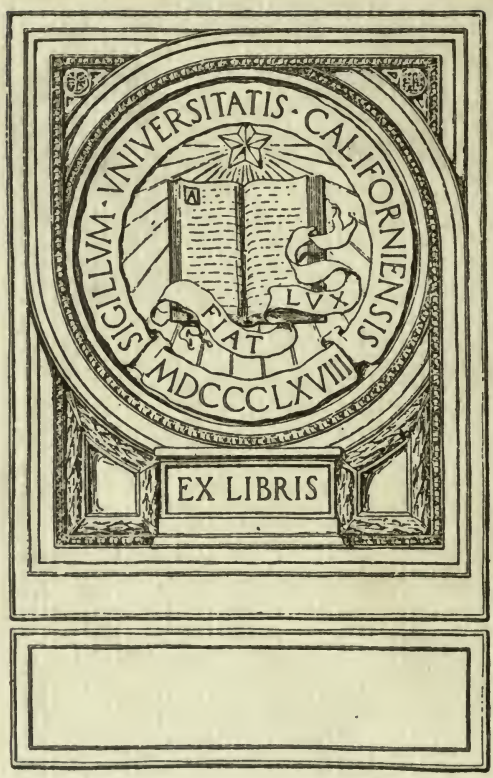
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Bunbury Church, looking west—Tomb of Sir Hugh Calveley, and the Egerton Chapel

(see page 160)

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Journal

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This Volume has been edited by the Hon. Editorial Secretary, the Rev. F. Sanders, M.A., F.S.A., who takes this opportunity of thanking the Curator (Mr. A. Newstead) for preparing the Index.

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A few Notes on the Coins of the Potter-Meols Collection, found on the Cheshire Shore, and presented to the Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historic Society by Mr. T. S. Gleadowe

BY F. W. LONGBOTTOM, F.R.A.S.

(Read 21st February, 1905)

THE faint radiance that glimmers along the distant horizons of history is so strangely illusive, that the student welcomes any means by which the feeble glow can be caught and focussed into useful light. Perhaps no objects so readily yield their many-sided story as the pieces of money, struck and passed from hand to hand, in the days when other records were few. None of the many creations of the great human family are more durable; and none fix their enduring narrative within such certain chronological limits. It was especially an appreciation of this last attribute that led to this modest enquiry being undertaken.

As it is quite impossible now to say where *all* the coins described by *Dr. Hume*, in his book "Antiquities from the Sea Coast of Cheshire," ultimately found a resting place, it seems reasonable to suppose that a few of them, at least, passed into Mr. Potter's hands; and that, therefore, our list and *Dr. Hume's* may, occasionally, be describing the same specimen. But, in the main, the

two collections are so evidently distinct, that it will be safe to consider them as complementary to each other.

Taking this view, then, and regarding the two portions of the gatherings as one whole, it may be said that they are singularly free from the suspicion of added pieces. A common danger in setting people to look for things, and paying them to do so, is that items are apt to creep in; items, which, genuine enough in themselves, are not of the district. The old prejudice that associates "endowment of research" with bogus discovery, may, however, be ignored for once, for, all through, there is an apparent identity of origin indicated.

Then, concerning another frequent trouble connected with the unearthing of treasure—the leakage. Even liberally allowing for the inevitable loss of many specimens, through their having fallen into the hands of irresponsible people, the gaps in the long series are still formidable. But, if they are carefully analysed, they are found to be just of the order that the antiquary would anticipate on purely historical grounds.

Had we, for instance, been hastily inclined to expect more gold pieces in the collections, a second thought at once explains their scarcity, by their limited circulation in times when even the lowest values of them had such a high purchasing power. Besides, with the exception of Roman or Greek, a few early British, and Henry III.'s so-called "gold penny," no money was struck in the precious metal until nearly the middle of the reign of Edward III., when our little settlement was in a rapid decline.

Were we surprised at the limited number of Greek, Roman, or early British strikings, a consideration of

their solidity immediately demands that a large percentage of those originally scattered must have sunk deeply into the quicksands, as the sea dug them out of their previous resting place.

Deducting reasonable exceptions, the lighter coins have survived the trying conditions best. Copper and Bronze must also have suffered, both in quantity and quality, from the solvent action of vegetable acids in these forest beds.

Turning, however, from these suggestions of loss, let us hasten to examine the wealth we possess, and to be grateful for it.

Taking the yield of this district in its entirety, it proclaims itself the ordinary money of the people; the everyday cash of commerce showing signs of the wear and tear of constant interchange. A favoured specimen here and there, in "mint" state, tells of careful hoarding; but there is no indication of a buried treasure chest, or of the spoils of a lost galleon.

Perhaps the most important problem in connection with a "find" of coins is, "How did they come there"? A careful weighing of all the available evidence, points to the existence of a settlement near Dove Point from the earliest times. This station may have originally been on what was an island at certain states of the tide; but any structure of the nature of a "lake dwelling," as ordinarily understood, is prohibited by the exposed position, and the fury of the winds and waves on this wild coast.

This coast village was, probably, the immediate source of all the miscellaneous collection of coins and antiquities which, for so many years, turned up in its vicinity; but a glance at the immense variety of the "finds,"

compels us to look for some extraneous auxiliary supply. Probably, shipwreck was the great feeder in this case. At a time when the Dee was of a greater relative maritime importance, and more especially in the pre-compass days (when mariners kept closer in-shore), many a goodly vessel must have been caught by the treacherous currents, and urged by the prevalent gales on to this dangerous lee-shore.

Mr. G. H. Morton, in his "Geology of the Country round Liverpool," speaking of shipwrecks, attributes the finds to "objects washed up from them, and subsequently lost or thrown away by the villagers."

From the positions in which the various things occur, it seems certain that they must have passed through the hands of these villagers; that, in fact, as *Dr. Hume* puts it, "Neptune did not hide them; but he assists at their finding by disintegrating the turf-bog, in which hundreds more probably lie buried."

Speaking of another interesting problem, *Dr. Hume* says: "The great bulk of our heterogeneous series will be found to appertain to the 13th century; hence the induction that the settlement then attained the height of its prosperity. From this period its decline seems to have been rapid, pointing to some great flood or other disaster—during which the forest was levelled, and mostly swept away—as a proximate cause."

Morton confirms this, remarking, "most of the objects found belong to the 13th century. The gap after this is probably due to some catastrophe, caused by some wide-spread invasion by the sea; as at Stanlow, towards the end of the 13th century." The picturesque account of the flood at Stanlow, in the "Chronicle of St. Wer-

burg," tells of "a dreadful inundation from the sea in 1279. This calamity was followed, in 1287, by the fall of the great Tower of the Church, in a violent storm. In the same year the lands of the Abbey suffered from a second inundation."

The *coins*, both ours and those listed by *Dr. Hume*, point to a focus of commercial prosperity about the middle of the reign of Henry III. (say 1250); but they do *not* support the idea of a sweeping change so early as the end of the 13th century, as Edward I.'s later issues, and the coinages of Edward II., and even of Edward III., are fairly well represented. Our two Edward III. Quarter-Nobles were not issued until 1351. From this it would appear that, if the destruction of this settlement came from the sea, and no doubt it did, its disappearance did not synchronise with the disaster at Stanlow, but probably took place during the reign of Edward III.

A broken chain of later coins might be regarded as proving the existence of the village, under reduced circumstances, up to quite recent times (say even the middle of the 17th century); but there are evidences that any late community must have lived on quite a different site from the early settlers. Possibly, loss at sea alone is sufficient to explain the existence of the later coins, as they occur in a somewhat irregular sequence. Guineas found on the surrounding sand-banks undoubtedly came from the wreck of a vessel in the reign of William III.

To take the lists a little more in detail, we note the appearance of only three Greek pieces, and they are not important ones; but what a vista of early voyaging they open up! Who brought them from Carthage?

The Roman period is, of course, more favoured. Omitting doubtful items, the *Potter* selection consists of ten specimens, which range from Claudius Cæsar (A.D. 41) to Postumus (A.D. 267). *Dr. Hume's* portion extends from Claudius to Magnus Maximus (the last Roman money struck in England, A.D. 388), and totals 55.

It is of interest to note here, that our own City's "finds" amount to some hundreds of specimens, and cover a period of about two centuries; whilst the dredgings from the Thames, near London Bridge, run from the reign of Augustus (B.C. 30) to that of Honorius (A.D. 423), and are numbered by thousands.

After their complete conquest, the Romans permitted only the Imperial money to circulate in Britain. They only actually struck money here during a century. Mints existed in London and Colchester, from A.D. 287 to 388.

Both the collections under survey are weak in coins emanating from a Romano-British mint. *Hume* quotes one, and also one bearing the "Britannia" reverse, which first appeared during the reign of Hadrian, about 122; but was more generally used by Antoninus Pius (A.D. 140), and is fairly frequent in "finds" from other parts of England.

The appearance of a few of the undecipherable fragments of Roman coins from the Meols colony, suggests the action of fire; no doubt a common enough occurrence in those unsettled days; but how it calls to mind the great rebellion under Boadicea! Probably, the local fire was totally unconnected with the British uprising, which culminated in the destruction of Londinium in A.D. 62. For one reason, Suetonius himself, whose absence from the south gave Boadicea her opportunity,

was at this time up in North Wales, with his victorious army. Even to-day, workmen occasionally cut through the fire stratum which underlies the City of London, and divides the older from the later Roman Metropolis.

Who can say that the coin of Claudius in our possession was not once the property of one of the XXth Legionaries, who came over with him in A.D. 43, and were stationed in Chester.

The coins of the Constantines, so common in most districts, are almost entirely wanting in the *Potter* "finds," and are very poorly represented in *Dr. Hume's*. York, where Constantine the Great was proclaimed in 306, turns them up in hundreds.

At the close of the Roman occupation in 410, comes a long break in the numismatic history of our island. Then we arrive at that interesting link between our Latin and our Teutonic conquerors, the Anglo-Saxon sceat. Unfortunately, the Cheshire shore has not yet yielded a specimen of this; but it may be worth while to note that Professor Reary considers these pieces as, probably, antedating most of the extant Anglo-Saxon and Irish manuscripts or architecture. Fancy little discs of metal belonging to a past when, perhaps, the hallowed stone of our Cathedral's 6th-century font lay unhewn in its native quarry, and before the building of even the Saxon walls of our much-defended City.

The Northumbrian styca (of which *Dr. Hume* mentions three), follows the sceat in about a hundred years. Meols is one of the very few places, outside their ancient limits of circulation, where they have been unearthed.

Amongst the later pieces, the Edgar Penny especially appeals to us, as that King visited Chester; though

Professor Owen throws grave doubt upon the picturesque incident of his row on our famous river.

The Penny of Æthelred II., with the "Hand of Providence" reverse, is an interesting coin. The specimen mentioned by *Dr. Hume* was a distinct one, being more legible as regards the place of mintage.

The "Sovereign" type Penny of Edward the Confessor, reproduces as its obverse the Great Seal of England of that period.

The Pence of Bishop Beaumont and Bishop Hatfield, recall the assistance their distinctive marks rendered in correctly attributing some of the coins of the first three Edwards, when neither dates nor numerals appeared on the money.

Meols has only furnished us with some half-dozen Chester strikings; but then, our local mint was never a very active one.

The little Scottish collection shows that the Scotsman of those early days was just as enterprising as we find him now!

Irish pieces are slightly more plentiful, as one would expect from the proximity of the two coasts. They commence with the 11th century Hiberno-Danish Penny, and run on intermittently to the Half-pence of William III.

Considered as a series, our "cut" half-pence and farthings are the most complete. "Cutting" silver pennies into halves for half-pence, and into four for farthings, was a common practice, and even continued after its prohibition, when the smaller pieces were regularly coined, in 1280.

It is very difficult for us, in this 20th century, to realise the great marketing-power of these insignificant-looking fractions. It helps us, perhaps, if we remember, that a penny in the reign of Henry III. equalled nearly thirteen shillings of our money to-day. The great number of these divided coins in our collection, confirms an opinion that the colony near Dove Point was not a wealthy one, as they far outnumber the pieces of higher value.

"Clipping" is also amply illustrated by many of our specimens, despite the terrible penalties this fraudulent practice entailed.

Quite a fair proportion of "rarities" appear in our lists, notably: Pennies of Henry I., and of the first issue of Henry II., minted at Ipswich; Henry III., struck at Rhuddlan; and one of his of the "Rex Terci" type; also a Penny of John Baliol, coined at St. Andrews; and a Half-penny of Robert III., of Perth; and Farthings of Edward I, of Lincoln and Dublin.

To endeavour to individualise the breaks in the continuity of our long series would be a heavy task, nor is it a necessary one, for, as we noted earlier, they are what could have been prophesied by any student of the circumstances under which the antiquities were found; and they amply confirm the precarious existence, and rapid decline, of this little township, which *Dr. Hume* thinks had quite disappeared before Elizabeth's time.

Appended is a list of the Potter-Meols coins, complete as far as it goes, but not weighted with the special distinctions of the scientific numismatist, which are needless refinements for our purpose.

I must, in closing, gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Newstead and Mr. Shone for kindly help; and to Dr. Hume and Mr. Morton for their books. Without pledging any of these authorities to my views, I may say that this modest Paper could not have been written without their sympathy and assistance.

SUMMARY OF THE "POTTER-MEOLS" COINS

Roman, A.D. 51-268	10
Anglo-Saxon, &c., 956-1066	8
William I. to Henry III., 1066-1272	79
Edward I. and II., 1272-1327	55
Continental Sterlings, circa 1272-1327	4
Edward III., 1327-1377	14
Richard II. to Mary, 1377-1558	3
Elizabeth, 1558-1603	6
Later and Sundries (Scotch, &c.)	42
Grand Total	221

SUMMARY OF COINS LISTED BY DR. HUME

Greek	3
Roman	55
Ancient British	3
Saxon and Danish	12
Anglo-Norman—	
William II. and Henry III.	88
Edward I. and II.	70
Edward III.	6
Richard II. to Philip and Mary	10
Elizabeth	14
Later and Scotch, &c.	86
Grand Total	347

List of Coins in the "Potter" Collection, found on the Cheshire Shore, near Meols, and now in the Chester Museum

ROMAN

Reign.	Period.	Description	Obverse.	Reverse.	Quantity.	Notes.
Claudius ...	A.D. 41-54	2nd Brass	(?) ...	(?) ...	1	Much worn
Nero ...	,, 54-68	,,	(?) ...	Female figure, S.C.	1	Worn
Vespasian ...	,, 70-79	Denarius	Imp. Cæs. Augg., &c.	Obliterated ...	1	
Aurelius ..	,, 161-180	2nd Brass	Aurelius Antoninus, Marcus, &c.		1	Much patinated
Gallienus ...	,, 260-268	3rd ,,	Gallienus Aug., &c.	A Centaur Appolini Cons. Aug.	1	
Postumus ...	,, 258-267	3rd ,,	Imp. C. Postumus P. T. Aug.	Gladiator ...	1	
Various ...	Unattributable				4	Corroded
				Total	10	

ANGLO-SAXON

Reign.	Period.	Description.	Type.	Mint.	Quantity.	Notes.
Edgar ...	956-975	Penny ...	Cross ...	York ...	1	Rare, but broken
Ethelred II.	978-1015	,, ..	Providence	(?) ..	1	
,,	,,	,, ...	Common...	York ...	1	
Cnut ...	1017-1035	,, ...	Profile ...	Chester or Leicester ...	1	Rare Mint
,, ...	,,	,, ..	¾-bust ...	London ...	1	
Edw. Conf.	1042-1066	,, ..	Profile ...	Chester ...	1	,,
,,	,,	,, ...	Sovereign	,, ...	1	,,
Hiberno-	Danish	,, ..	*Circa*	11th Century ...	1	
				Total	8	

Reign.	Period.	Description.	Type.	Mint.	Quantity.	Notes.
William I...	1066-1087	"Cut" Farthing...	Uncertain	Uncertain ...	1	
,, I. or II.	1066-1100	,, Halfpenny	Star, side face	,, ...	1	Rare
Henry I. ...	1100-1135	,, ,,	Uncertain	London ...	1	,,
,, ..	,,	Penny ...	Profile ...	Uncertain ...	1	,,
Henry II. ...	1154-1189	,, ...	1st issue ...	Ipswich (2); uncertain (1)	3	Scarce
,, ...	,,	,, ...	2nd ,, ...	London, Canterbury, &c.	5	
John ...	1199-1216	"Cut" Farthing...	Irish ...	Dublin ...	1	
Henry III....	1216-1272	Pennies ...	Long Cross	London, Canterbury, Oxford, Rhuddlan, &c. 1 "Rex Terci"	10	Rhuddlan & "Rex Terci" scarce
,, II. or III.	1154-1272 (Mostly Henry III.)	"Cut" Half-pence	Various ...	London, Lincoln, Dublin, Winchester, &c.	46	An interesting lot
,, II. or III.	1154-1272 (Mostly Henry III.)	"Cut" Farthings	,, ...	Uncertain Mints ...	10	,,
				Total	79	
Edward I. ...	1272-1307	Pennies ...	Usual bust	London, Canterbury, Bristol, Lincoln, York, and Bury-St.-Edmunds	25	Interesting
,, I. or II.	1272-1327 (Mostly Edward I., but difficult to attribute)	Half-pennies ...	,,	London, Dublin, and Waterford	9	,,
,, I. or II.	1272-1327 (Edward II.'s are not distinguishable from those of Edward I.)	Farthings ...	Usual bust	London, Lincoln, and Dublin	6	Lincoln, rare Dublin, ,,
,, II. ...	1307-1327	Pennies ...	Usual bust	London, Canterbury, and Durham, &c.	15	All, undoubtedly belong to Edward II.
			1316-1333	Bishop Beaumont's m.m. Lion rampant and Fleur-de-lis		
				Total	55	
,, III. ...	1327-1377	Quarter-Nobles ...	3rd issue, 1351	m.m. Cross, London	2	
,, III. ...	,,	Half-groat ...		,, ,,	1	
,, III. ...	,,	Pennies ...	1345-1381	London, York, Durham 2 Bp. Hatfield's, ,, m.m. Bent Crozier	9	Hatfield's, scarce
,, III. ...	,,	Half-pence ...	Usual type	London ...	2	
				Total	14	
,, I., II., or III.	1272-1377	Sterlings or Derniers	Edwardian bust	Illegible ...	4	Common
Richard II...	1377-1399	Penny ...	Usual bust	York ...	1	Scarce
Henry VII...	1485-1509	Groat ...	2nd issue	London ...	1	
Mary ...	1553-1558	,, ..	Mary alone	,, ...	1	
Elizabeth ...	1558-1603	Shillings ...	Usual ...	m.m.'s Tun and Martin	2	Worn
,, ...	,,	Sixpences ...	,, ...	,, Rose and Castle	2	,,
,, ...	,,	Pennies ...	1st & 2nd issue		2	
Charles I. ...	1625-1649	Sixpence ...	Tower ...	m.m. Eye ...	1	,,
				Total	10	

SCOTCH

Reign.	Period.	Description.	Type.	Mint.	Quantity.	Notes.
Will. the Lion	1165-1214	"Cut" Half-pence	Usual bust	Uncertain ...	2	
Alexander II.	1214-1249	Pennies ...	,,	Edinburgh ...	2	
,, III.	1249-1285	,, ...	,,	"Rex Scot," &c. ...	4	
John Baliol	1292-1296	,, ...	,,	St. Andrews ...	1	Rare
Robert III.	1390-1406	Halfpenny ...	,,	Perth ...	1	Very rare
				Total	10	

VARIOUS

"Abbey" Tokens	2	
17th Century Tokens, Bristol (1657) and Westbury (1656) ...	2	
William and Mary, Irish Half-pence, 1693 and 1694 ...	2	
Foreign Coppers (sundry)	5	
One Bronze Naval Medal (worn)	1	
Badly Corroded Coins and Fragments	19	
Total	31	

The Chester Mystery Plays

BY PROF. H. GOLLANCZ, M.A., D.Lit.

(Read 20th November, 1906)

ON Tuesday, November 20th, 1906, Prof. H. Gollancz, the well-known authority on early English literature, gave a lecture at the Museum, before the Chester Archæological Society, on "The Chester Mystery Plays." The Archdeacon of Chester presided, and a large audience included Sir Horatio Lloyd, the Mayor of Chester (Mr. F. F. Brown), Mr. Mond, M.P., Dr. Bridge, &c.

The Chairman, in introducing the Lecturer, said had he not believed that the Plays could be listened to in a reverent and religious spirit, he should certainly never have fostered the reproduction of them. He did believe that that could be done, and he earnestly hoped it would be done, and that those who listened to the Plays would be carried back by the accessories of those 300 years or more to the time when they were last produced; and would also feel that those things which were represented had a personal and an individual influence upon their own lives. They would, therefore, appreciate to the very full the spirit in which they would be represented, and the ideas presented in the Plays themselves.

Professor Gollancz said that, hundreds of years ago, Chester folk, aware of the fact that Chester Plays were

about to be performed, were all full of interest, and full of charming expectation, and that expectation was fostered by announcements made publicly in the streets some weeks before, bidding Chester folk be ready by the day, in right good mood, to welcome the players.

He (the Professor) was a sort of herald that evening, announcing that there were to be reproduced, after a lapse of 300 years or more, certain famous Plays closely identified with the early history of this great and noble City. He deemed it a privilege, the more so as it was by the wish of the honoured Member for Chester in the House of Commons.

The herald, in former days, was often inclined to refer to the early history of that kind of drama, and associate the beginnings of the religious plays in Chester with a great name, honoured by those who knew the literary associations of Chester, Ralph Higden, the author of the "Polychronicon," a name great in English literature, and great in the history of the religious house of St. Werburgh, Chester. He lived in the early part of the 14th century, and all evidence available tended to associate the real foundation of the Chester Plays with about the first quarter of the 14th century.

By that time religious drama had developed a long way forward from its very simple beginnings. The early Christian Fathers, in trying to win the newly converted from the gladiatorial shows, pantomimes, and other spectacles, wisely borrowed the great lesson that it was easier to appeal to the eye than the soul or mind. There were early developments of so embellishing the liturgy as to produce what might be called liturgical drama. In the Church service, though in Latin, there were elements of a very dramatic character; and, in the

9th century forms of dramatic service were included in the services at Easter.

The liturgical drama became rapidly secularised by the introduction of the vernacular; and, in the end, it became too secular to receive any longer encouragement from within the Church.

In the monastic schools a freer development took place. It was customary on the eve of the saints' days belonging to the saints to whom the schools were dedicated, for the scholars to enact some story associated with the history of the patron saints. This development took place on the Continent rather than in England.

It was seen that in Saxon England there was a certain amount of antagonism to anything dramatic, which had shewn itself from time to time in the history of religious and secular drama in England generally. We could find nothing in Saxon England intentionally dramatic; and that was all the more surprising when they bore in mind how the drama became the great crowning glory of English literature.

One of the gifts of the Norman conquest was the Church drama, and when once it became established the English people did very much to develop the French drama, so that we found many of the French plays that had come down to us were written by Englishmen who were half French.

There were from fifty to seventy places throughout England where plays were enacted; but only a few had been fortunate enough to rescue from oblivion those most interesting relics of old mediæval days, and Chester was among the most fortunate places in England.

London, which must have had a wonderful cycle of plays, had now no single play preserved that belonged peculiarly to it. Chester had a "cycle" or sequence of twenty-five plays, beginning at the very beginning of Bible history, and going on to the crack of doom.

In the 14th century interesting developments of mediæval life did very much to foster the development. The Church recognised that a very strong force had come into being in the form of the Trade Guilds, between whom and the religious life there was a close connection, and in the Church itself, in the year 1311, occurred the foundation of Corpus Christi day. That was a Church festival outside the church walls, and a festival that meant a procession in the streets. There came the opportunity of joining the interesting side of trade-life of the Guilds with the Church, and of associating with Corpus Christi day the festivals of the various Guilds.

The festivals of the Guilds were constantly taking the form of dramatic shows; and the happy thought seemed to have occurred to someone to let each Guild have a Play, and to have the Plays acted on two or three days in sequence, so as to have a connected story of Bible history.

There was a certain appropriateness in the choice of a Play by a particular Guild. The story of Noah would naturally be taken by the Water-drawers, and the story of Abraham and Isaac naturally by the Bookbinders, who worked on parchment, which was obtained from rams. "The Harrowing of Hell" was most appropriately assigned to the craft of the Cooks.

The Corporation took an interest in superintending the Plays. The Guilds had to make representations to

the Corporation to be allowed to enact the Plays; and, no doubt, the Corporation had certain powers to see that the Plays were properly conducted with due decorum in all that belonged to the serious side of religious drama.

We were told that the author of the Plays translated them into English, which would seem to imply that they were originally in some other language, probably French. If that were so, we could understand the close connection between certain parts of the Chester cycle and certain plays preserved in French.

There were many points of interest in regard to the beginnings of the Chester Plays. One monk, Francis, went to Rome and obtained not only permission for the acting of the Plays in Chester, but indulgence for, he thought, one thousand days from the Pope, and forty days from the Bishop of Chester, for those who attended the Plays with proper decorum, and a proper sense of the reverence due to them.

During the Reformation varying attitudes were taken by the authorities in regard to the Plays; but, on the whole, so strong was the enthusiasm of Chester folk, that it was impossible to prohibit the acting of the Plays. On one occasion the Mayor was summoned to the Privy Council for having allowed the Plays to take place. Nothing seems to have happened, for the Corporation supported the Mayor. On another occasion the Archbishops of York and London, together with the Bishop of Chester, tried to stop the Plays, but without effect.

It was noteworthy that in the second half of the 16th century, the time when the drama elsewhere was shewing such wonderful development, that in Chester

the old Plays were still being acted, although, occasionally, a holy and pious Mayor tried his best to stop them. In the year 1600 a holy, righteous, and pious member of the Corporation did succeed in stopping not only the Chester Plays, but also the equally interesting and important aspect of mediæval life in Chester, the midsummer procession, which probably, in its history, went back a couple of thousand years, if not more, and which contained some of the oldest elements of folk-lore that could be found in these islands.

The Plays of Chester had come down to us in five manuscripts, and they all belonged to the 16th century. The student of Shakesperian drama, of drama in its highest and greatest and noblest form, had to recognise the great debt that Shakespeare as a boy, and as a man, and as a master-mind, owed to those simple mediæval dramas still current during the time of his activity.

The Plays of Coventry, to which Shakespeare referred more than once, had very much the same character as the old Plays of Chester. He thought no Plays had a more refined element in them than the Chester Plays; none of them seemed to have a greater sense of the dignity of the subject; and none were less offensive to the modern taste, than were the Chester Plays.

Let them imagine themselves attending the Chester Plays three hundred years ago or more. It was Whitsuntide, for the Plays associated with Corpus Christi day were soon moved to Whitsuntide. They rose pretty early, for there would be crowds at the various stations of Chester watching the scaffolds, prepared weeks and weeks before, on which the various scenes were to be shewn. The people made a three days' holiday, nine plays being acted on each of the first

two days, and seven on the third. The great scaffolds on wheels were called "carriages," and in other places "pageants," a word which was reserved in Chester for the Plays themselves. The carriages had two divisions, the lower for dressing, and the upper for the stage. They would be wheeled up first to the Abbey Gates, and then to other parts of the City; and seats were provided at various places, so that the crowd might witness the performances.

The people were to be edified by the Plays; but the writers and the actors remembered that they had also to interest the people; that they were dealing with simple folk and not the select few; not the learned people, who were superior to those folk-plays. The writers learned that in order to edify people they need not always be solemn and severe. They also knew that unless people were amused they would stay away. Whether they did wisely was a matter he was not going to discuss.

What fine material they had in the Bible story, with all its possibilities, its pathos, its serenity, its tragedy, its melodrama, and, not least, its lighter side. Let them think of the old writers trying to use that great story-book of the world so as to make it a living thing to those 14th century Chester folk, who had not then the advantages of free circulating libraries, or even "Times'" Book Clubs. Let them think of such an audience, and then consider whether the 14th century dramatists took the right course in dealing with the subject they had in hand.

The greatest poet of the 14th century, *Chaucer*, in one of his tales referred to the way in which the

story of Noah was treated in the words: "Have ye not seen the trouble Noah and his fellowship had before they could get the wife to enter the Ark"? In many other departments they had similar possibilities. The Shepherds waiting for the Star of Bethlehem suggested possibilities of lighter treatment that were rarely missed. Supposing well-known Chester folk had been waiting, what would they have done? The Shepherds' Play in various cycles was full of lighter passages, which set into heightening effect the appearance of the Star and the Gloria in Excelsis.

They could only learn by reading, or by seeing, that there was nothing incongruous in the natural actions of those rustics with the serious design that original writers had in dealing with such a theme. Let them think of the possibilities of the melodrama in such a character as Herod. Did he not rant and strut about in his vain-glory? Shakespeare referred to the Herod of those plays when he made Hamlet instruct the players not to rant too much lest they out-Herod Herod. Did not Shakespeare seem to take a delight, great mind as he was, in looking back with loving affection on everything associated with the simplest and crudest form of that type of literature with which he identified his genius? Then, the possibilities of pathos were brought out by the story of Abraham and Isaac, which seemed to have had an irresistible charm for mediæval England; so much so that five different versions of the Abraham and Isaac Plays had come down to us.

Prof. Gollancz read an extract from the Chester Play on the subject, and said that even in the 20th century

the lesson of that 14th century Miracle Play would not prove amiss or in any way jar upon our most religious and most refined feelings.

There was a great deal of scenery and elaborate machinery in connection with the Chester Plays, and some of the entries in the accounts were, perhaps, strange and curious. There was an entry of sixpence for a "pair of angel's wings"; or for "mending Hell's head"; or for the "rope for hanging Judas"; or for the "fire for setting the world aflame."

It was a mistake to imagine that in the 14th century people went through a long course of training to take part in the Chester Plays as amateur actors. The Corporation generally made the condition that the Plays were to be acted properly; and amateur acting did not seem always to have been countenanced. Bands of players were hired and paid for the purpose; and they must not take a strong standpoint and imagine that any harm would come in respect of the revival of such a Play as that of Abraham and Isaac, even if it were entrusted to professional players and not to choristers or high ecclesiastics associated with this Cathedral city.

We now recognised that God, in His inscrutable way of doing great work, had used the player to teach some of the greatest lessons that the modern world had ever learned from any man.

There were proclamations of the Chester Plays in various forms; and one written in 1572 would serve as an epilogue to the prologue he had put before them. In 1572 the people of Chester were in some doubt.

Some people were superior, and thought the old-fashioned Plays were not altogether worthy of their attention. The proclaimer pointed out the Chester Plays were not contrived "in such sort and such cunning and by such great players of price as at this day good players and fine wits could now devise; but by craftsmen and mean men, these pageants are played to commons and countrymen accustomedly before. If better men and finer heads now come, what can be said? But of common and country players take thou this story, and if any disdain these Plays, why, here open is the door; then let him in to hear, pack away at his pleasure; our playing is not to get fame or get treasure."

The Archdeacon of Chester proposed a vote of thanks to Professor Gollancz.

The Mayor, in seconding, said the difference of opinion on the Plays had shewn they might be entering a course of some difficulty, but Prof. Gollancz had shewn that they might safely go on, feeling that they should do no harm, but that they should do good to many. A great part of the Bible was historical. The people that were spoken of in it were men of like passions to ourselves, and why they should not be put on the stage he failed to see. Of course, there were many points which must be treated with great care.

The motion was acknowledged by Prof. Gollancz, who said the revival of the Plays was being watched with interest all over England. They were trying to bring into modern life something a little more picturesque something which might appeal to the imagination, and

they could not do better than foster an interest in the old life of England in localities where there was material for looking back on the wonderful attractive past. The present would receive great aid by looking back, because in each different part men, women, and children, would take a pride in their locality, and would become more enthusiastic and understand better the wonderful history that had gone to the building up of our noble and great country.

The Quakers in Chester under the Protectorate

BY THE REV. F. SANDERS, M.A., F.S.A.

(Read 18th December, 1906)

A FEW months ago, I was fortunate enough to procure, through the catalogue of a London bookseller, a very curious and interesting pamphlet which throws much light upon Quakerism in Chester in its early days. It consists of fifty-four pages, with three pages of preface, and was printed in London in 1657, the year before Cromwell's death. It seems worth while to print this tract *in extenso*, as it is of extreme rarity; its full title will be found on a following page. The pamphlet appears to have been drawn up by Anthony Hutchins, although the initials F. H.[1] are appended to the preface.

It will be remembered that the Churches of Chester at this time were in the hands of Presbyterian ministers, who, in Quaker parlance, are always designated priests. A settled ministry of any kind was contrary to their deepest convictions.

The sufferings of the Quakers were cruelly severe, although it must be admitted by those who respect their

[1] Francis Howgill, see *Dictionary National Biography.*

principles, and admire their honesty and fortitude, that they provoked much of the persecution which they so patiently endured. A modern "friend," mild, pleasant, neatly dressed, carefully educated, is as unlike as possible, except in a few "principles," to the obtrusive, intolerent, rude, coarse, disputatious Quaker of the early days of their sect.

The "Little Ease" which occurs so frequently in the following pages, was situated under the Northgate prison.[2]

[2] See *Hemingway's* "Chester," I., 349, 350; II., 168-170.

CAINES
BLOUDY
RACE
KNOWN BY THEIR
FRUITS

OR, A TRUE

DECLARATION

OF

The Innocent sufferings of the Servants of the living God, by the Magistrates Priests, and people in the City of Westchester, who lives in a profession of God, Christ, and the Scriptures, as their forefathers did, who slew the Prophets, persecuted Christ, and the Apostles, as is declared in the Scriptures of truth, &c.

They persecute him whom thou hast smitten; and they add unto the sorrow of them whom thou hast wounded. Psal. 69, 26.

Bloody men hate him that is upright; but the just have care of his soul. Prov. 29, 10.

Remember the word that I said unto you, The Servant is not greater than his Master; if they have persecuted me, they will persecute you also; if they have kept my word, they will also keep yours. Joh. 15, 20.

Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsly for my sake, rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven, for so persecuted they the Prophets which were before you. Matt. 5, 11, 12.

LONDON, Printed for Thomas Simmons, at the sign of the Bull and Mouth, neer Aldersgate, 1657.

TO THE

READER

Reader,

Amongst the many sad objects of pitty and commiseration which these dayes afford, and do bring forth, here is one not of the least, where thou may behold the sad and woful sufferings of many of the dear and precious servants of the Lord, who have denied themselves and the glory of this World, that so they might be followers of Christ, and doers of his Will, that so they might receive peace with the Father through Jesus Christ, who hath called us to suffer for his Names sake, and be conformable unto his Will, that so the Crown of Glory may be received, which is laid up for all them that keep the faith, and doth not deny it, nor him in whom they have believed, before men, as these Cloud of Witnesses and faithful sufferers have done, who have kept the Faith, and confessed him before men, and among such also where the Devil hath his Throne, and rules as King; and by his unrighteous Scepter hath the Rulers of Chester acted, as the Discourse hereafter will manifest, wherein thou may see the Image of the Father in the sufferers, and of the Lamb, who was dumb before the Shearer, and opened not his mouth: And in this after written thou may see the Scriptures fulfilled, as it is written by the Prophets, They eat my people as men eat bread, and they chop them in pieces as flesh; for the Caldron and the time which Christ spoke of is come, that they that kill you shall think they do God service; and all these

things they wil do unto you for my Names sake, and they shall shamefully intreat you, and cast you into prison, and speak all manner of evil of you falsly for my Names sake; but blessed are they who are not offended. And in those blood thirsty inhumane Magistrates (so called) who have done all this violence and cruelty, thou may also read the image of the Devil brought forth, for their works that they have done and wrought are of him; and as Christ said to them who would have been counted holy, who said God was their Father but their Works manifested them to be of the Devil, and he was their Father who abode not in the truth. And that which makes the violence and cruelty more intollerable of these men, is, because they profess themselves to rule for God, and are christian Magistrates, but their actions that they have brought forth will Christ never own, for he came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them; neither did he ever set up anysuch rule as to slay his servants, nor any such Magistrates who are a terror to them that do well, and therefore they must be recorded among the Adversaries of the Lord whom the Lord will dash to pieces. What! Is this the reformation brought forth in their City, imprisoning them that reprove sin in the Gate, and set drunkards at liberty? Oh preposterous and prodigeous cruelty! In the time of the King and in the time of the Bishops never such presidents of cruelty was found; and this hypocritical generation will be lesse excusable than they, they in ignorance, but these in the day, when light is declared abroad, and have been warned; they never professed liberty of conscience, but these do; they never professed toleration or protection unto any but them that conformed to them in all things, but these do. Oh England! Is thy sun

set when it was but new risen? and utter darknesse coming upon thee again? And must this be fulfilled upon thy Rulers, and among them, They are all evening-Wolves, who devour so greedily, that they gnaw not the bones till the Morrow? Oh unheard-of cruelty! unparelell'd Wickednesse! violence is broken forth into a Rod, and now smiteth the just in great cruelty, and the innocent in great rage; but all these things are recorded and taken notice of by him who weighs all things in an even ballance, and will scatter the wiced and ungodly as Chaff, and as dust shall they be blown away; but all the stripes, reproaches, sighs, tears, and sufferings of the upright will he reward, when their enemies shall sink as a stone into the Sea, and be overwhelmed in the pit of everlasting vengeance, wo, and misery, which is prepared for the old Dragon, the Devourer, and all his Seed and Race for ever, who would not have Righteousnesse to rule, nor Innocency to live, but subtilty and craft, pride and arrogancie, in which the Kingdom of the Devil stands, and envy, murder, and oppression, and he that hates his Brother is a man-slayer. And when thou hast read over this Discourse, and sees the envy, wickedness, and madness and cruelty of these Rulers, their spirit thou will see, and cannot but abhor as detestable, and may truly say, While such bear rule, the Land cannot but mourn; but the mischief they have hatched shall fall upon their own pate, and peace shall possesse the reins of the just, and the heart of them that have suffered shall rejoice and be glad in him who hath counted them worthy to suffer for his Names sake, and great shall be their reward, for they shall reign with him for ever and ever over all their Enemies, and shall trample them down under their feet; which

if thou believe, and in patience endure and suffer with them that suffer, thou shalt rejoice with them that rejoice, in the joy which is unspeakable and full of glory, and know the Dominion which is everlasting, when all those unrighteous powers and dominions shall come to an end; and all that endure to the end and keep the faith, this shall see fulfilled; and the Lord is hastening it for Wickedness is near at the heighth, and then his Wrath shall consume his Enemies, and they shall melt away that hate the Lord.

F[RANCIS] H[OWGILL]

CAINES
BLOUDY
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FIRST, UNDER EDWARD BRADSHAW, Mayor; Richard Hubberthorne[3] coming into Chester City about the 29th of the 9 Month, 1653. the occasion of his coming at that time was to visite a brother in the truth, who was for the truths sake a prisoner in the County-Goal, his name was John Lawson; so he (Richard Hubberthorn) being in the House, where he lodged all night peaceably, not giving the least occasion of offence to any but was writing in a Book he then had of his own; so as he sate writing came in Richard Golborne a Lawyer, and took his Book from him, and gave him envious and threatning words, and went his way, and informed Edward Bradshaw Mayor what a dangerous Fellow was in the Town, and caused him to be brought before the Magistrates into the Pentice, so when they and the chief Priest had examined him, and finding the Law not by him transgressed, he being clear in all things from the least breach thereof, they caused him to be put a-part into another Room, until they had devised wicked and unlawful devices against him, for this was the time when the Lord first tryed them how they could bear the sincerity and plainnesse of the innocent truth and Gospel of Christ, which was then beginning to spread abroad in the Nation; which Truth, and the

[3] See *Dictionary National Biography*.

servants thereof, doth onely seek the Honor which comes from God, and doth only give the Honor to God; and doth not seek that Honor which comes from men, neither can give that Honor which men seek one of another; and for this cause was the Wrath of the Magistrate lifted up, until they had both lost the knowledg of the Law, and of Reason, who in their Wrath sent him into prison, no breach of the Law being found by him, only by the information of Richard Golborne, who had broken the Law in taking his Goods from him, contrary to all the Laws of this Nation; only this they said they imprisoned him for, because he could not promise them to go out of the Town when they commanded him. But Festus who was a Ruler amongst the Heathens, he well might be called Noble, for to him it seemed unreasonable to send a Prisoner, and not to shew the causes of offence that was laid against him: But these Magistrates which say they are Christians, they manifest themselves to be void of understanding, sense, and reason, having sent many to prison without so much as signifying a just occasion against them. So when R Hubberthorne had suffered about three moneths imprisonment, he was called before a Sessions, and they finding nothing against him, again asked him if he would go forth of the City, which if he would, they said he should be set free; which he denyed to promise them, and stood in the Authority of the Almighty over their deceit, being they could lay nothing to his charge; then their Wrath arose, and commanded him to be put into prison, and kept close that none should come to him; all which the Keeper obeyed for about eight dayes; and then the Mayor and the rest of his Brethren joyned together to make a Passe to send him from Constable to Constable, into

Lancashire; but when the Lord had tryed them to the full, then they broke their Order which was sealed with seven Seales, and he was onely brought forth of the City, and set free.

Thomas Holme coming into this City, had a Meeting in the same about the nineteenth day of the first Month, 1653, where he and many more were met together to wait upon the Lord in a house in the same City; then Thomas Holme spake as he was moved of the Lord, Edward Bradshaw then Mayor, being informed thereof, sent one of his servants, and commanded him to bring Tho. Holme before him, so he committed him to prison to the Common Goal for the City, where he was kept about six Weeks, in which time he was much abused and beaten by Robert Emisone, Keeper of the Prison, who is a common notorious Drunkard. Before Tho. Holme was released, Edward Bradshaw sent Samuel Elcock unto him, to know if he would promise him to depart the City, which if he would, he might be released; who said he could make no such promise. Now Tho. Holme having a letter by him, which was sent him from Rich. Hubberthorne, directed to Edward Bradshaw he gave it to Samuel Elcock to give it as directed, who did; so when Edward Bradshaw had read over the Letter, he said that Tho. Holme should be whipped, and (as we are informed) had a man in readinesse to do it, he thinking all the while it had been Tho. Holme which writ it to him; so Thomas Yarwood hearing what was intended against Tho. Holm, and understanding it was because of that Letter, went to Edward Bradshaw, and said, Friend, Tho. Holm did not write that Letter to thee, it was Rich. Hubberthorne, but Tho. Yarwood not doffing his Hat, Edward Bradshaw committed him to the Stocks, where he was

kept about an hour and a half at the least, then the next day after Tho. Holme was committed as aforesaid, Edward Bradshaw sent for Rich. Hickock and Edward Morgan, they being two that was at the Meeting the day before, and committed them to prison upon the twentieth day of the first month, 1653, and kept Rich. Hickock fifteen Weeks, and Edw. Morgan nine Weeks.

Elizabeth Levens, and Jane Waugh, coming to this City to visite their Brethren in prison, and as they were passing peaceably through the Streets, were tooke up by a drunken man, and brought before Edward Bradshaw, and by him committed to prison, who were a great part of their imprisonment kept in a stinking place, where for the most part thieves and murderers are kept; the whole time of their imprisonment was about five Weeks; who when they were released, were sent from Constable to Constable, as Vagabonds, into their own Countrey.

Anne Fara coming to this City, was moved to go to a steeple-house, and spake unto the Priest, she was much abused by the rude multitude, and by them took before Edw. Bradshaw, and by him committed to prison for many dayes.

Richard Hickocke was moved to go to a Steeple-house in the City, where was a High-Priest, called Samuel Eaton,[3] who when he had ended that he called his Sermon, Rich. Hickock spake some Words to the people, but they pulled him down, and did much abuse him; yet neverthelesse Edw. Bradshaw committed him to prison, and commanded the Keeper to put him into a dark stinking Room, where he saw a Snake, and other venomous creatures; it is such a place that none

[3] For Samuel Eaton see *Dictionary National Biography*.

is put into at any time but such as are condemned to dye, and therefore is called The dead Mans Room; and likewise Edw. Bradshaw commanded Irons to be put on him, all which his commands were executed to the highest degree of malice that might be; in which condition he was kept 13. Weeks and upwards, and it 's believed by some, the Priest and he together intended to destroy the outward man, though he had a Wife and many small children; such is their cruelty, had they not been prevented by George Minshall, one of the Protectors servants, who coming to the Town at the time of the General Sessions holden for the County, and hearing of their usuage of him, was moved with pitty, and fetched forth a Habeas Corpus, and brought his body before the Judge for the County, out of the hands of those bloody and cruel men, to answer the Law, who finding no just cause of imprisonment proved against him, and being moved with pitty towards him, understanding how cruelly he had been used by them, did freely release him, to their shame and trouble.

Tho. Yarwood was moved to go to the Steeple-house, and stood till the Priest had done what he had to say, and then he spoke to the people, but he was haled forth, and ill abused by the baser sort, and brought before Edward Bradshaw, and by him committed to prison, where he was kept most part of two days; he being a Souldier, and under Command, his officer sent to him to know why he had imprisoned his Souldier, and fetcht him out of prison; Edward Bradshaw sent him Word, He came in amongst them with a laudable Voice, and disturbed the Assembly before the Minister had done, though he spake not till the Priest had done, as before is said.

John Owen being in his own house, following his lawful employment, there was a stone flang at his window, and missed it; then he and his men went off the Table they sate on, which was close to the Window, who were no sooner off the Table, but a great piece of a Brick stone was flang through his Glasse-Window, which broke it in pieces, and had not he and his men (as is said) come from the Window, it might have killed some of them, it came with such force into the House; so he seeing who threw it, took the stone in his hand to Edward Bradshaw, and shewed him the stone, and who it was that threw it into his House, and brake his Window, as is said, who said, Do you come to complain before a Magistrate in such an unreverent manner? and said, I will neither heare your cause, nor right you; and with his own hands thrust him forth of his doors, and charged him to come before him no more.

The innocent sufferings of the servants of the Lord in Chester City, under Richard Bird, Mayor of the same.

Edmond Ogden being moved to go to a Steeple-house, spake not a Word until the Priest had done, and then spake some Words to the Priest to make good what he had said; but he was drawn forth into the Street by the hair of his head, and then sent to prison by Richard Bird, and kept nine Weeks.

Richard Bird sent for Edward Morgan forth of his own House, and committed him to prison, when he had not spoke to any, nor to this day knows what he was imprisoned for, onely it was reported by some he did

it because Edmond Ogden had been at the Steeple-house.

At another time Rich. Bird caused Edw. Morgan to be taken out of the Street, who neither said or did to any, yet he caused him to be put into the Grate, where for the most part Thieves and Murderers are put.

Mary Endon came to this City to see her Husband; who was in bonds for the truth, she was then moved to go to a Steeple-house, and asked the Priest a question; but she was exceedingly abused by the People, and taken before Rich. Bird, and by him committed to prison, where she was kept four dayes.

William Sarrot passing through the street with a piece of cloth, John Poole called to him, and asked if he would sell his cloth, who said, Yea; John Poole asked him his price; he said, so much the Yeard; John Poole said he would have it; William Sarrot hearing him say so hastily he would have it, said, Friend, do not mistake thyself, I ask so much the yard; John Poole said, Thou lyest, thou asked me so much an ell, but William denyed it, and said as before; then John Poole struck him very ill, and thrust him out of his shop, and kept his cloth, though his Wife and Mother would have had him to have given him his cloth again, they being (its very like) sensible how it was; but he would not give him his cloth again, but said he would teach him to be a Quaker; many people cryed out against him for so doing, but for all that was said to him, he was shameless, and would not part with the cloth. So William Sarrot came and informed some of his Friends, who bad him to go to the Mayor, and inform him thereof, who did; the Mayor was high with him, because he could not give

him that honor he expected from him, but in the end did send for John Poole, who came; and as soon as he was come, the Mayor and he went apart, and discoursed awhile; but when they returned to William, the Mayor said to William, unless he would put off his Hat to him, he would do him no justice, but would send him to prison for coming before a Magistrate so unmannerly; but in short, he sent William Sarrot to the Common Goal, and not in the least reproved John Poole, who would have cheated him of his Cloth. So the third day after William was put in prison, the Mayor sent for him forth to his own House, where Pool had sent the Cloth; so when William Sarrot saw his Cloth upon the Table, he said, Friend, is this Cloth of so much the Ell, as Pool said he would have it for? The Mayors Wife said it was better worth; then the Mayor gave William his Cloth again, and discharged him, paying his Fees; he denyed to pay any Fees; then the Keeper took him to prison again; but when he saw he would pay him no Fees, he turned him forth without.

The innocent sufferings of the people of God under William Wright, Mayor of Chester City.

Sarah Adgit, and Margret Wood, coming to this City, were moved to go to a Steeple-house; Sarah spake a few Words when the Priest had done; Margret spake not in the Steeple-house at all; they were both taken before William Wright, and by him committed to prison, and kept above four Weeks, though (as aforesaid) one of them spoke not at all in the Steeple-house.

Upon the 31. day of the first Month, Richard Sale was moved of the Lord to come to the City, and to

go to a Steeple-house, where the Judge for the County, and many more of the City and Countrey were assembled, and Nathaniel Lancaster Priest,[4] found in the steps of the Scribes and Pharisees, who in the highest place of the Assembly was found, exalting himself as their Teacher. So Richard Sale stood so long as he could, and opened not his mouth, until at last the burden of the word of the Lord burned as fire within him, that contrary to his own will he was forced to speak; but before he could utter many words, he was violently halled forth as their manner is, and committed to the County gaol for one day, and then by the same power that committed him was released for that thing; so the Law being satisfied, he went to his own house.

Then upon the second day of the second moneth, 1656. Richard Sale, being commanded of the Lord, to come to Chester citty, and by the Lord commanded to reprove sin in the gate, he being in the liberty of the County, about Glovers-stone, he then was pulled by violence into the Liberties of the City, and delivered to one of the Mayors Officers; so he was taken before William Wright Mayor, who committed him to prison: Demand was made what he was committed for; Answer was given, For speaking before the Judges; though he had as aforesaid satisfied the Law, for that before, and yet for the same thing was committed to prison again, and there kept in a most cruel manner 33 weeks, in all which time he might not be suffered to have a little fire, though none of their charge, he being in a cold open room, and the coldest time in all the year, such was their cruelty, then at last they released him privately without any tryal at Law.

[4] Nathaniel Lancaster, Minister of Tarporley, was son of Gabriel Lancaster of Rainhill, Lancashire. He died 9th January, 1660.

The Innocent sufferings of the People of God in Chester city, under Peter Leigh Mayor of the same, who in a most cruell, bloody, and mercilesse manner hath executed his power against them.

Upon the ninth day of the tenth month, 1656. Edward Morgan had a servant wrought with him, whose name was William Fletcher, who had stole a peece of Leather from him, which was worth two shillings, or thereabouts; Edward being informed thereof by one of his servants, called Thomas Edwards; then Edward Morgan asked Fletcher, why he stole his Leather from him? Fletcher denyed it, and did begin to quarrell with him: Insomuch that another of Edward Morgans servants, went and informed Peter Leigh Mayor, (unknown to Edward) the Mayor sent for them both, who came before him, the first word that the Mayor spake was to Edward Morgan, asking him, if he was not a Freeman of this City, being he came so unreverently before him, and farther said, Are you not sworn to be obedient to Magistrates? he answered, What I do is contrary to my own will in obedience to the Lord: the Mayor said, The Scripture saith, Honour thy Father, and Mother: Edward said, I honour my Father in that I am obedient to that of God in my Conscience: then the Mayor said to Edw. That unless he would put off his hat, he would not hear his cause, so Edw. came away, and the man that stole his Leather escaping punishment for stealing, because he whom he stole it from could not in conscience put off his hat.

Upon the fifteenth day of the tenth moneth, 1656. Peter Leigh Mayor commanded Edward Morgan to come before him, who (as it will appear hereafter) had

laid a snare to entrap him, because he had escaped imprisonment before, when he was before him last, seeing he would not put off his hat: The Mayor had sent for Rich. Bird (formerly Mayor) who was an approved man for his purpose, to persecute the innocent without a cause, and John Johnson as bad as he; so they being met together in the Pentice, sent for Edw. Morgan, (as aforesaid) pretending to punish him that stole his leather if he desired it: Here all may see how unfit these men are to be Magistrates, for they that know anything pertaining to the Law, know this, that a Magistrate in his place ought to be a terror to him that doth evil, and is upon all occasions to use his utmost endeavour to find them out, and them to punish according to their offence, and in so doing becomes a terror to them. Nay further, if any man hath so much respect to him that hath transgressed the Law, as to conceal it such a time as the Law sets down, according to the offence, he makes himself equal transgressour with him that hath transgressed: Now these Magistrates are so far from this, that they told Edward Morgan, that if he desired the thief to be punished they would punish him; so ignorant are they of their places, that because Edw. Morgan did not desire it from them, they did not punish him for stealing: but this was but their pretence to ensnare him, as their actions hereafter will appear. Then the Mayor asked him, if he was not a perjured fellow to come before them so unreverently, and many such like words he used, but (in short) according to their design on him, they began to cast how to bring him under their Law, there being a bench at the lower end of the room, Edw. did sit down: Tho. Robbinson one of the Sheriffs called to him, and said, Dost thou know where thou art? and

told him that was not a place for such fellows as he to sit on, and said, he should be taught better mannors: for they would put a bridle on his head, and many such like unsavoury words he used, not worth repeating over, so in the end, they got John Taylor, John Knowles, and John Whitley to swear against Edward Morgan.

To wit, He said his Conscience told him, he could not bow to deceit, so this was the ground for which they committed him to prison, because he could not bow to deceit, and made a warrant which was signed by John Johnson, and Rich. Bird, the sum of which was, that Edw. Morgan misbehaved himself before the Mayor, so to prison Edward was sent straightway, but he that stole his Leather found favour from them and was not punished at all for stealing, though he confessed so far to the stealing of it, that of himself he brought part of the Leather back again to Ed. Morgan, but not by any constraint of either Mayor or Justices; so now that for which they sent for Edward Morgan hath fully appeared.

Now Ed. Morgan lying in prison, as is said, many as he dealt with in things belonging to his trade, understanding the grievous wrong he had done him, went of their own accord, unknown to Edw. Morgan, unto Peter Leigh Mayor, to desire Edwards enlargement from him, the Mayor told them in a fawning hypocryticall manner, he did not desire to keep him in prison, and told them it was Rich. Bird, and John Johnson that did commit him, they seeing how uncivilly he behaved himself before me; and said, if they would release him, he would be content therewith; this the Mayor did say in the hearing of many Witnesses. Then David Bathow who was one that heard him

say so, went to Rich. Bird, and told him what the Mayor had said, when Ric. Bird had heard him tell what the Mayor had said to them, he did deny that he was cause of it, and said that he had rather have gone 20 miles another way, then have gone about any such thing, when the Mayor sent for him; and farther said, he did not desire any poor man should be kept in prison; and said farther, if any man would but come and passe his word for his good behaviour, he would undertake to prevail so far with Mr Mayor, as to procure his enlargement, and likewise said if any man would come, and passe for him as is said, he would pass his word to him he should never be troubled for so doing.

Upon the 21. of the tenth moneth, 1656. Some of those that had been with the Mayor before, went to him again about the same business, but he would not suffer them to speak with him, but sent them word by his door-keeper, that they should attend him upon Fryday, it being the three and twentieth of the tenth month, and bring a surety with them, and he should be released: so as they were appointed they came to the Pentice, and brought a surety with them, as the Mayor had appointed them to do, now the Mayor and many more being present, they made known their businesse to them, so they said as they had before (not knowing) there was any to passe for him, that if any would passe for his good behaviour, he should be released, or else not: Then the man spoke, and said, he would passe for his good behaviour; when the Mayor and the rest heard that any would passe for him, they then denyed to release him upon sureties, unless Edw. Morgan would come himself before them, and desire it with his hat in his hand, if so, then

they would release him upon sureties, or else (some of them said) there he should rot, so they were all dismissed. Now any who are in the least measure turned to the Light wherewithall Christ Jesus hath enlightened them, may see their deceit, for at the first the Mayor said it was John Johnson, and Richard Bird that committed him, and he could not release him, because they did it: Rich. Bird said, What they did was by the Mayors appointment, but both said, Bring a surety to passe for his good behaviour and he should be released; but when a surety came, none would release him, unlesse he would come before them with his hat in his hand, and desire his enlargement of them himself, or else some of them said, he should rot there; but in the end all were made manifest to be lyars, for upon the second day of the first month ... 56. After he had endured eleven weeks imprisonment, the Mayor sent a Constable to the keeper of the prison to release him privately, it is beleeved, because the general Sessions for the County drew neer, least their actions there should have been made publick.

In the time of Edw. Morgans imprisonment as aforesaid, he sent a modest Letter to Peter Leigh Mayor, by the hands of Deborah Maddock, she finding him in the Pentice, did deliver the Letter; he asked her from whence it came? she told him; he said, What dumb Spirit hath set them on work now? then the Mayor said unto her, That such Huswifes as she was fitter for the stocks, or to be ducked in a Cuck-stool, then to carry letters, and come before Magistrates to deliver them so unreverently, she said, There is no respect of persons with God; the Mayor called for a Constable, and sent her into little ease, the hole in the Rock, where she was kept about 4 hours.

Richard Sale, being a Freemans son of this city, went to Peter Leigh Mayor, to demand his Freedom, as in right it could not be denyed him, upon the one and twentieth day of the tenth month; the Mayor asked him his name; he told him, the Mayor said, I thought you had been in prison long enough to have learned better manners, but seeing you have not; I will teach you some if I can; Rich. Sale answered, Evil words corrupt good manners, and thou hast heard none from me yet, the Mayor said he would teach him to com with more reverence before Magistrates, and called for a Constable; but being none ready, he sent him to a Constables house; the Constable asked the man that brought him, what he must do with him, he said, bring him to prison; R. Sale said, thou received no such orders, then the Constable went to the Mayor himself, to know what he must do with him, so when he came back, he came to R. Sale, and said, If he would promise him not to trouble the town any more, neither meddle with their Ministers, he might go his way; but he denyed to condition with him at all, who when he could get none, let him go without.

Upon the 4th day of the 11th month, 56, it being the first day of the week, Rich. Sale, as he was waiting upon the Lord in a meeting in Chester, then was commanded of the Lord to go to a place in the City called the Minster: so he coming there, he met John Glendall Priest,[5] and was moved to speak to him; there passing by a Constable, one told the Priest thereof, the Priest bad the Constable take Rich. Sale to the Mayors house, and keep him there untill he came to him. So the Constable being ignorant of his place,

[5] John Glendole was Minister of St. Peter's, Chester.

did take him as the Priest commanded him, and there kept him a great while, but the Priest came not, as he said he would: for to them it is a light thing to lye; then at last Rich. Sale was taken before the Mayor, who asked him, Why he disturbed the Ministers of the Gospel? he answered, He did not disturb any Ministers of the Gospel; then the Mayor demanded of him sureties, for the keeping of the Peace; he told him he had not broken the peace, therefore he denyed to put in sureties to keep that he had not broken, so the Mayor commanded him to be put into prison untill the next day; so the next day he sent for him forth of prison, and gave order he should not be brought before him, but put into little ease, the hole in the rock, where he was kept about 8 hours, it being a very cold day, in which place he could not sit, kneel, stand nor lye, yet before they would let him forth, they would have had him to have promised them not to have disturbed their Ministers, nor Magistrates, or else they said they must not loose him forth. But he denyed their propositions, and was made rather willing to give his body up to be murdered by them, then to yeeld to their wills. Then to cover their cruelty, they said he pulled Priest Glendals cloak from off his back, when he did not so much as touch any part of his garments; unless they meant it by laying open the fruits of his Ministery, and pulling off his Cloak of hypocrisie; and if so they meant, we shall not say against it: Then Peter Cowsnock being in the Town, and seeing how the Mayor had used Edw. Morgan, and Rich. Sale, it lay upon him of the Lord to go to the Mayor, and to speak to him concerning his usage of them as is said; so upon the 5. day 11 month 56. the Mayor, and Sheriffs, and many more being met together in the

Pentice, he went in amongst them, and spake to the Mayor his message once and again; the Mayor seemed as though he heard him not: the Mayor then spake to a man that stood by him, who came immediately and plucked Peter Cowsnocks hat from off his head, and flang it down, then the Mayor turned towards him, and asked him, How he came before him so profanely with his hat on? Peter told him the occasion of his coming; he received from them many scornful and reprochful words, likewise some of them threatened to whip him, others to put him into little ease, the hole in the Rock which is worse, then at last he pulled forth a Pass with a Letter, both from some of the Council of State, his Pass shewing that none should interrupt him in his journie to the Isle of Man, from whence he came; yet for all this did Wil. Street, and Will. Haywood say to the Sheriff, He might do well to search him for Letters, it being (as they said) in his power; so he being ready to execute their malice did, and took divers writings from him of great concernment, which he could never to this day get any of them again; now let any man judge whether this was not a contempt against those of the Councel of State, that made him his pass; now this is certain, had he not had that Pass, they would have don to him, as afore is said, for against him their malice was as great as against any other which they have acted much cruelty against; for two or three times Constables were sent to Anthony Hutchins house to charge him he should neither entertain Peter Cowsnock nor his son, but their Message was by him little regarded in that thing.

Upon the 20th day 11 month 56. Richard Sale was moved of the Lord to come to Chester, it being the

3d day of the Week, as he was passing to a friends house he met with one of the Pharises called William Haywood, and said to him, The Serpent lives upon dust and dust is the Serpents meat: he then asked Rich. Sale if he was God, and many such like tempting questions; but he shut him out, and would not answer to his vain questions at all: There standing by Hamnet Kerkes a shoo-maker in the same City, who began to kick and push Rich. Sale to and fro, and offered to strike up his heels, but missing of his end, stroke Richard over the face, he turned to him the other side, then Hamnet Kerkes stroke Rich. Sale over the face with such violence that he bruised his left eye exceedingly, who when he had don so went to the Steeple house worship, R. Sale followed him to the door, but their worship not being ended, he staid in the Grave-yard, untill the Priest had done; so when people came forth he spake these words, Friends, let the usage of my body this day bear Witness for God, and against you that your Worship is not the Worship of God, but of the Scribes and Pharisees; and then when the Mayor came forth, Rich. Sale cryed for Justice and Judgement from him for the wrong he had done him in the Street, and shewed him his face, how he was used; but instead of Justice and true Judgment, he commanded one of his Officers to take him to prison, who did: The Mayor sent word to the under-keeper to put him in Little-ease, the hole in the Rock, who did as he was commanded, but he could not lock it, unlesse (as he beleeved) he must either bruse his body or soar face, he being moved with pity towards him, took him to prison again, and said he would go to the Mayor, to know why he was sent to them, being they had nothing to do with that prison; so he abode

in prison till within night: Then there came either one or both Sheriffs, and five Constables, as the Keepers Wife said, who took him forth of prison, and violently thrust him into the hole in the Rock; and Hamnet Kerkes who had bruised his face, did thrust in his head with much cruelty, and said he hoped it might be good for him hereafter; so in this condition they kept him three hours, and then released him, the man telling him which did release him, he must not have released him yet had he not a Boy to put in.

Upon the 11th day of the 12th Month, 1656. Peter Leigh Mayor, and many more, as Justices, Aldermen, & Sheriffs, all of this City of Chester, was then passing through the Street towards the Common-Hall of the same City, to a customary Feast they there hold yearly, and before them went blowing a Company of Pipers, which were (as I was informed) sent for from Shrewsbury by Peter Leigh Mayor, to play the day before, before him to a customary Horse-race, holden yearly without the City-Walls; but this is certain, Peter Leigh Mayor, put by one of their Exercise-days, or days of Worship, set up and allowed on according to his own principles, to follow these Pipers to this Horse-Race; such is his zeal for God now come to, which so long he hath made a large profession of. So they all as aforesaid went along the Street, following the Pipers, as men void of either fear towards God, or shame towards men. Thomas Yarwood seeing them, was moved to speak a few Words in much tenderness and pitty towards them; the sum of what he spake was onely this; He exhorted them to mind in what true Christianity stood, which was in true holiness, in the fear of the Lord. And William Ince (one of their Justices) said, he said well, and for saying well, the

Mayor commanded one of his Officers to put him in the Stocks, who was about to do it; then the Mayor, thinking them to be too good a place for such an offence, sent Word he must not be put in there, but into Little-Ease in the Rock; so there they put him, and kept him five hours; he being a weak and sickly man, his knees were bruised very much, that of some Weeks he did not recover the hurt he got there for disturbing Pipers; for none can say wel, but such cursed fire-brands of Hell as those are disturbed, and all that takes pleasure in them.

Upon the seventh day of the first Month, 1656. William Simson was moved of the Lord to come to this City of Chester; and being in a Friends House, the burden of the Lord did fall upon him concerning the Market; and waiting a while after he had felt the burden, there came in Rich. Sale, who did partake of the same burden with him; so they both together went into the Market, and declared through most of the Market; then Rich. Sale was taken up and put into Little-Ease, the Hole in the Rock, where he was kept above five hours. In this time William Simson had been declaring in the Streets, and after that had been in the County-Goal with some Friends who were then prisoners for the truth, and was come from them, and was passing thorow the Street, intending to have gone to a Friends House, but as he passed, was took up by a Constable, and brought before the Mayor, who commanded him to be put into Little-Ease, Rich. Sale being released, and there was kept four hours.

Upon the 8th day of the first Month, 1656. Willian Simson was moved of the Lord to go to a Steeple-house called Johns, where he stood peaceably amongst

them until the Priest had done, and was coming forth of his High Place, then did he utter these Words, to wit, Friend, wo to him that is covered with a covering, and not with my Spirit, saith the Lord; Which Words were no sooner ended, but violent hands were laid on him, and he haled forth; then a Constable took hold on him, and took him before Peter Leigh Mayor, who asked the Constable if he had spoken within time; the Constable said he had not; then the Mayors Wife took upon her the place of a Magistrate, and asked the Constable if the Minister had said his prayer, he said he had; but for all this the Mayor commanded that William Simson should be put into the Stocks, in which place he declared the Word of the Lord in much power: The Mayor seeing people gather about him (or being thereof informed) did send for him forth of the Stocks, and commanded he should be put into Little Ease in the Rock, where he was kept some nine hours, and when he was released, was not suffered to come into the Town, though it was late in the night-season; such entertainment they give to Strangers in the City of Westchester. Then the next day in the morning it lay heavy upon William Simson to go to Peter Leigh Mayor, to demand of him in much meekness, to shew him what Law he had broken, telling him it was the Magistrates place to convince him of the Law he had broken, being he had suffered so much hardship under him the two foregoing dayes; the Mayor gave him no answer to that, but queried of him who sent him to this City: William answered, He was moved of the Lord; the Mayor said, By what Spirit? He said, By the measure of his Spirit which he hath manifested in me. The Mayor said, It was by the Spirit of the Devil: There standing by Thomas Robbinson, one of the Sheriffs of the City, who was

stirred up with envy and cruelty to such a height that he (Thomas Robbinson) did strike William Simson over the face with such a violence, that the blood burst forth in the presence of Peter Leigh, Mayor, and John Taylor a Constable, yet did the Constable (its like) by the mayors Order, pull him who had his blood drawn, forth off the Shop, and took him, and put him into Little-Ease, who bled all-along the Street, which is one of the longest Streets in the City, and some more, and after he was put into the hole, to the great astonishment of the people, who many of them cryed out of them (shame) for using him so barbarously. Now let any sober-minded man judge what a magistrate Peter Leigh is, and who he bears the Sword for, and turns the edge against, when a man for demanding (after he is punished) to know that, which was the mayor or magistrates place and duty to have told him, before he had punished him, what Law he had broken; and yet instead of shewing him the Law, suffered the Law to be broken in spilling his blood, and the shedder of blood not punished, but punishes him whose blood was shed, as is declared.

Upon the same day after that William Simson was released out of Little-Ease, as aforesaid, he went to a friends house where Rich. Sale was come, who that morning was moved to come five miles to that City; so both being moved of the Lord, went into the Streets with much boldness, and declared against their deceit and cruelty, until a Constable came and took them to the mayors house, who when they came there, were not admitted to come before him, but he sent word to the Constable he should put them into prison, Richard Sale he put into Little-Ease, where he was kept four hours, and William Simson he put into the City-Goal, where he was kept seven days.

> Thus saith the Lord, I will make my people as Signs and Wonders in this wicked and adulterous generation, and they shall see it, yet they shall not believe, but trust in the imaginations of their own hearts, until they sink down into the pit.

This is a true declaration of the manner of my being a Sign in City of Chester, as I Richard Sale was moved of the Lord; and it I declare for the satisfaction of the innocent, to remove all occasion of stumbling out of the minds of any which might lend an ear to the wicked one, to think or conceive that I was mad; but what I did was in obedience to the Lord, whose commands and ways are strange unto the children of darkness, and was and is a true sign of the state and condition that all men are in who are erred from the light, being in the dark Night of apostacy. The manner is as followeth,

Upon the 3. day of the week, being the 10th of the first month, 1656. there being a monthly meeting of priests in the City, for they have a custom for every new moon to observe a day of worship; so upon one of their new moon-days I was commanded of the Lord to be a sign in the City, the burden of which I had born for the space of 6. weeks; the command of the Lord coming unto me upon the 21. day of the 11. month, as I was passing along the East-gate-Street with Candles in my hand, it being the 4. d. of the week, the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Return again, and light up one of thy Candles, and carry it in thy hand into the streets of this City, and say, Behold ye despisers, and wonder, for the Lord is working a Work in this your day, though a man declare it unto you, yet you will not believe it. And they shall say unto thee again, What art thou mad to come with a light

Candle into the street at mid-day. And thou shalt say unto them again, What use is all your Candle-light for now who are in the night of Apostacy? Now the Light of the Son of God is come, which hath given his people an understanding to discern betwixt things that differ; and the Temple now is witnessed which neither needeth the light of sun, moon, or candle, for the Lord God and the Lamb is the light thereof, and no more use is all your Candle-light-worship for now, then my Candle is in your streets at mid-day. So I having undergone the terrors of the Lord for my disobedience, was now made willing by his Power to do what I was commanded of him, being that he would not free me from the same. And on the third day aforesaid, I lighted up a Candle, and went into the Street, and was to have gone into the Steeple-house amongst them at their new-Moon-Worship, but I was prevented by a rude multitude, and strucken by a professing Woman, who hath strucken others of the Lords Messengers, and slat dirt in the faces of some of them, and yet by the Priests in this City, and other professors, is accounted a religious Woman, (her name is Kathern Hinde) and my Candle was pulled forth of my hand, and I ill abused; but I declared the Word of the Lord in much power, until I was taken up by the Sword-Bearer, and delivered to a Constable to be brought into prison, where I was kept about a Week; the same corrupt Will which imprisoned me, sent for me forth. I neither being convinced, accused, nor examined what Law I had broken, but turned me out privily, whose actions would not abide the light to discover them.

From him who is a sufferer for
the testimony of the
Truth,
RICHARD SALE.

Now while Rich. Sale and William Simson were in prison, as aforesaid, they sent two several Letters to Peter Leigh Mayor, to put him in mind of his unjust dealing with them, but the Bearers of both he caused to be put into Little-Ease for many hours, though neither of them knew what was written in the Letters, having not heard them read over.

Upon the next third day of the Week after William Simson was released forth of prison, he was moved of the Lord to go into a Steeple-house in the City, where many people were assembled, where he stood peaceably among them until the Priest had done, then another Priest stept up, and desired the people to stay the Ordinance of baptism, which was the sprinkling of an Infant, in which discourse he laboured to confirm that to be an ordinance of God; and the child thereby made a Member of a visible Church: When he had done this Discourse, William Simson desired Priest Nab in moderation to clear those things by Scripture, to wit, That the Church of God is visible, and sprinkling of Infants is an Ordinance of God; but no answer could he get from him, but was ill beaten by the people, and thrust forth of the doors; then the Priest came forth, and passed by him; he desired the same thing of him, that so the people might be satisfied; but he would not answer, but the hireling fled because he was an hireling, and went into an house; then William Simson spake a few words to the people in the street, but a man shortly took hold on him, and put him into Little-Ease, the hole in the Rock, where he was kept eight hours, or thereabouts.

Upon the third day of the fourth Month, 1657. Edward Morgan being peaceably at his outward imployment there then came Joh. Fletcher, who was il

drunken, & a notorious common drunkard known to be all the City over; this Fletcher came and called Edw. Morgan Cuckold, and his Wife a Whore in the presence of many people, and railed so on Edw. that he could not in quiet follow his imployment; then at last Edward went to Peter Leigh Mayor, and informed him thereof, and told him he was now at his shop ill drunk; the Mayor said to Edward, Will you swear he is drunk? he said, Nay, what need I to swear when the man is to be seen? said the Mayor, I will order you both, and called for a Constable, and called Edward Morgan a perjured fellow, for his unreverent coming before him, and straightway sent him into Little Ease for no other cause than as is said, For complaining of a drunkard who had abused him, but the drunkard was not at that time questioned. Many being sensible how it was, and saw Edward punished, and the drunkard go free, cryed out against it; and their cry coming to the Mayors ear, three dayes after he had sent for the drunkard, and sent him to prison until he had drunk a pot or two of strong drink, and then released him; Little Ease being too course a place for a drunkard. And now let all honest hearted people judge if ever the like thing was done by any Christian Magistrate, as he professeth himself to be, yea, or by Heathen Magistrate either, that a Drunkard should go free, and he that was abused by him, and made complaint against him, should be punished because in conscience he could not doff his hat when he made his complaint. He that justifieth the wicked, and condemneth the just, even they both are an abomination to the Lord.

Edmond Ogden coming to a Meeting of the people of God in Chester City one first day, and another man came with him of Cains generation, into the Town,

and was with him when the Constable took Edmond up, yet they suffered the other man to go, and took Edmond Ogden before Peter Leigh Mayor, who committed him to the Stocks, where he sate about half an hour, and then taken and put into Little-Ease four hours, or thereabout.

Upon the 10th of the 4 month, 1657, it being the 3 day of the Week, Richard Sale was moved of the Lord to come to Chester City, and to go into Pepper-street, where he found it his place to abide, and there sate down, and within a short space after there were carryed forth a dead Corps out of Richard Golbornes house, and two priests going before it; and as they passed by him, he was moved to charge them in the Name of the living God to make good their practice by plain scripture, and shew by it where-ever any of the Apostles or holy men of God preached any Funeral-Sermons, but they returned him no answer; then he was made to declare against them and their practice, they being found out of the Doctrine of Christ, and practice of the holy men of God: Then there following after them a company of proud ungodly ones, he was made to cry out from the burthen of the Lord, against their pride, covetousnesse, violence, and oppression, which many of them lived in; and was made to declare that all their worship and sacrifices offered up in that nature they lived in, was but as a smoke in the Lords Nose all the day long: Then one Jonathan Goldson being more cruel than all the rest, though one of the chief pillars of the pharasaical Church, came out of the company in great rage, and laid violent hands on him, calling him Rogue and giving him many more unsavoury speeches, holding his hand up many times, as if he would have strucken him, and gnashed upon

him with his teeth, and took him to a constable, and he brought him before Peter Leigh Mayor, & he ordered him to be put into Little-Ease, who did with much cruelty, where his body endured the strength of four men before they could get the door to lock; in which cruel place they kept him four hours, neither his friends nor others being admitted to come to him; but by the power of the living and unchangeable God, he was preserved without pain, declaring his word in much power, to the confounding of all gain-sayers. Then when he was released, the constable offered to take hold on him, thinking he was unable to stand, but he denied his help, and was made in the power of God to go as well as before, though his Knees were all bruised, and did swell, and then the constable charged him to go home, and trouble the city no more; but he refused his charge, and passed into the city again, where he staid all night.

Then the day following he was moved to go to Peter Leigh Mayor to demand what Law he had broken, and told him it was the Magistrates place to convince the transgressor if a transgressor, what Law he had broken, and then to punish him according to the transgression committed; but the Mayor called for a Constable, and said he was not subject to Authority, or words to that effect; he said to him, if thou wert a Magistrate of the Law of God, or any Law or Statute in this Nation, I could own thee in thy place, but thou art a Magistrate of neither, but of thy own corrupt will, and the hands of the wicked are strengthened by thee: Then the Constable came, the Mayor gave him order to bring him out of the town from Constable to Constable, (as the Constable told him) so out of the City he was brought by two Constables, but after them he passed into the

City again, in at the same gate he was brought forth at, and passed by the Mayor's shop, and went to a friend's house.

Then the latter part of the same day Rich. Sale was passing neer Newgate in the same City, and there meeting him Jonathan Goldson, who as he passed by him said, Friend I exhort thee to Repentance for the wrong thou didst me the other day, Jonathan having a Ruler in his hand offered to strike R. Sale, and said, Sirrah hold thy tongue, or I will make thee thou Rogue; Rich. asked him if such words as these proceeded from a Christian Conversation, Yea, or Nay? but he said, Sirrah, if thou wilt not hold thy tongue, I will put thee into this Lake, there being by a dirty Lake; with that Jonathan did thrust Rich. violently from him, then Rich. declared the Woes of the living God against him, and all who were of the like profession with him; then with another thrust Jon gave him, his hat fell off his head into the Lake, then Richard going to take up his hat, Jonathan struck at one of his Legs, thinking thereby to have laid him along in the Lake, but it was ordered he kept his feet, and when he was through the Lake, he was made to stand still to be a Witnesse for God and against him, it being from the Lord cleared to him, that the fruit of his ungodly profession must farther be manifested, so Rich standing on the other side of the lake as is said, the Hypocrite ran for stones, and flang them into the lake to plash him, and with him came two or three boyes, hewing stones for him; so he and the boyes joined together and were made brethren in iniquity, and set up laughters, and made a great hubub and stir, and plashed him so with the dirty lake Water that the fore part of his body was wet from the head to the feet, but in all

this time R. Sale was made to stand still, and bade the people that saw his usage, take notice if any such actions as these ever proceeded from a Christian conversation; telling them, that they that were publicanes and harlots were neerer the Kingdom of God than he; then Jonathan Goldsons Wife ran behind Rich. Sale, and took up clods of dirt, and flang them at his bare head, sometimes hitting him on the face, insomuch that he was exceedingly besmeared with dirt; all this while he was made to stand still, not offering any violence: then in the sight of many people Jonathan his wife did take up dunghill durt in her hands, daubing it upon his face and mouth, as if a man had been daubing a clay wall, so that his head, face, shoulders and hands were all besmeared with her most barbarous usage of him, and in this condition he was moved to go through the streets, and up to the Mayors shop, and informed him who they were that had used him so, and the cause for what they did it; not that he desired any revenge on them, knowing his Revenger liveth, but to try if he would be partial in respecting persons in judgement, and likewise in the City to lay open the truth of their ungodly profession; then the Mayor did appoint him to come the next day, when he and the rest of his Council were met in the Pentice; so he came away, and declared down the Streets in much power, and when he had cleared his Conscience he went to a friend's house, and in some measure made him clean, and then returned forth of the Town to his own house.

The next day as Peter Leigh Mayor appointed him, he came to the Pentice, and spake to the Sword-bearer to go and acquaint the Mayor, that according to his appointment the day before he was come, and ask him if I must come to him, the Sword bearer brought

him word again from the Mayor, he must not come to him unless he had witnesses to swear; so R. Sale staid in the outward Pentice till the Mayor came forth, and then said unto him, Friend I am come according to thy appointment, to wait for Justice and Judgment, but the Mayor bade him either bring in his witnesses upon oath, or else he said he could do nothing, this the Mayor said though he himself were an ey-witness how he was used; now this Mayor must have Witnesses to swear, or he cannot lawfully proceed to punish them that transgresseth the Law; then I would fain know by what Law he hath acted, and leave it to any sober man to judge, when he hath judged and commanded soar and grievous punishments to be inflicted, when neither he hath convinced them of any Law they have broken, neither any accused them, neither he himself examined them, nor ever required any to swear against them, and yet tortured, imprisoned and banished them; but now to do justice against any that hath evilly entreated, and shamefully abused the innocent, and harmless people of God, he cannot by no means unless witnesses be sworn, though as is said, he saw how shamefully he was used himself; but the Lord God liveth before whom he shall answer for these things, and true judgment shall pass against him, and none be required to swear. (But to proceed) the Mayor went into the Steeple-house to a Lecture Sermon as they called it, the Righteous spirit being grieved in Rich. Sale, he was made to stay until they had done their worship, and when the Priest came forth he said, Behold ye Priests the fruits of your Ministery, how that I had like to have been murdered in the Streets by a professing man and his Wife of your Church; but wo to you that build up Sion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity, for the dreadful

hand of the living God is stretched forth against you: then he was violently pulled down from the place where he stood, and halled away; then as he went he informed the people how the Mayor had appointed him to come for Justice, but when he came was denyed of the same, because he would not bring people to swear; therefore is Justice perverted by him, and Judgment turned backward, for instead of doing him Justice, the Mayor sent him into little ease, the hole in the Rock, by two Officers, but they seeing it could not be locked, but judged it would either bruise his face or limbs, they being not so cruel as some others, took him forth again, & put him into the City gaol, where he remained above 2 hours, & then came a Constable with another man and took him forth of prison, and brought him into Little-ease again; but they likewise found it such a cruell place, it could not be locked unless as they beleeved they must lame him, they only reared a block of wood to the door, and said they would go to the Mayor, and inform him, that if he would have any put in there that was in mans stature, the place must be made bigger unless he would lame them, so in that place he was kept five hours; and when he was let forth he was charged straitly to keep him forth of the eity; but the next day he came to the city again, notwithstanding all the threats of his enemies.

Upon the 19th day of the 5 month 57. Rich. Jones was coming to a meeting of Saints in Chester City; and was by a Constable taken up, and his horse taken from him, and he let go: then when the meeting was broken up he went to look after his horse, and with him went Edmund Ogden, the Constable took them before the Mayor and Iohn Ratcliff Recorder; who asked them many vain questions, but in the end com-

mitted them both to prison, where they were kept untill the next day in the evening, and then released.

Upon the 4. day 7 month 57. Richard Scostrip coming to this City was moved to exhort people in the street to Repentance, and was then taken up and brought before Peter Leigh Mayor, who asked him from whence he came, he told him from Yorkshire; then the Mayor asked him if he knew in whose presence he was, he told him yea, he was in the presence of the Lord; he said, I will teach you to know you are before a Magistrate, and straitway sent him into Little-ease in the Rock, where he was kept about two hours.

Then the next day Rich. Scostrip was moved to reprove sin in the Gate; when he had said what he had given him to say, he went his way with an intention to depart out of the town, he being clear of the same, and was gone as far as the Gate of the City but was fetched again by a Constable, and put into the House of Correction, who gave the man that kept the House strait orders to keep him to hard labour, where he was kept part of four days, and then released, and not at all called before any Magistrate, neither when he was committed to prison, nor when he was taken forth of prison: Such are their Laws in this City.

Upon the 28th day of the 7th month, 1657. I Anthony Hutchins did then send a true Declaration of some of the innocent sufferings of the Saints in Chester, to Peter Leigh Mayor, by the hands of John Owen, the Mayor sent him into the House of Correction, and kept him two days.

Upon the seventeenth day of the eighth month, 1657, there was at Peter's Steeplehouse in Chester, a Sermon,

(as its usually called) to the hearing of which many people did assemble themselves, and the more, in regard this was the day that they in the City made choice and elected new Officers, as Mayors, Sheriffs, &c, and it being said to be a free place where any may come to hear, Rich. Sale came in amongst the rest, and stood as peaceably, and gave as good heed to what was there said, as any there did, and against what was spoken did not utter a word; yet notwithstanding a man came to him, and by violence pulled him forth, and put him into the house of correction, who at the end of three dayes was released by Command of Richard Minshal, who was newly elected Mayor. Now observe, for not going to their Assemblies we are by them reproached, and accounted as Hereticks, then if any of us go, and take that liberty which the true Church allowed, 1 Cor. 14, 20, 30, 31, 32, then are we cast into prison as breakers of the Law, and disturbers of their Ministers, then will they say, Cannot you come and be quiet, and take what you like, and let the rest alone; and let our Ministers alone, and you need not be thus imprisoned; and now Richard Sale came, as is said, and stood as civilly as any did, and neither spoke against their Minister as they call him, nor any other, and yet (as is said) was not suffered to stay, not only so, but sent to prison. Now whether these proceedings be lawful and honest, I leave it to the Reader to judge.

There hath been much more sufferings of the innocent people of God (the Saints) in this City of Westchester, which is not here mentioned, these being sufficient to show what fruits the proud, covetous, hireling Priests have brought forth in the same.

And now I shall give you a true description of this Little-Ease, or hole in the Rock, so often in this Book spoken of, which Peter Leigh Mayor hath made the Executioner of his cruelty, madness and folly, against the innocent and harmless people of God. Surely the wrath of man shall praise thee; the remainder of wrath shalt thou restrain.

It is a hole hewed into the Rock, the bredth and cross from side to side, is 17 inches from the back to the inside of the great door, at the top 7 inches; at the shoulders 8 inches; at the brest 9 inches and an half; from the top to the bottom, one yeard and half; now to take in the height of that as their malice puts them on, they have draw-boards which shoot over crosse into the two sides, to a yeard height, or thereabout.

Now let any sober-minded man in this Nation judge if such inventions as these were ever invented by any that feared God, to torture their fellow-creatures in, for not putting off the hat, or speaking to a Priest in the Street sound and sober words, or for desiring to have the Law shewed them they have broken, when they have endured much punishment, and have not known for what; and instead of shewing them the Law, themselves have broken the law in drawing their blood, and put them into this hole when they have done; or for disturbing pipers with saying wel; or for calling for justice when their faces have been bruised; or for exhorting people to repentance; or for reproving sin in the Gate; or for delivering a meek and sober Letter; or for desiring a priest when he hath done, to clear what he hath said by Scripture; or for complaining of a drunkard; or for passing quietly through the streets to a meeting, to wait upon the Lord; all which things

before mentioned, which this is a short relation of, hath been done by the command of Peter Leigh Mayor of the City of Chester, and suffered by the innocent people of God in this Little-Ease, or hole in the Rock; to the truth of which, lest any should doubt, as they might do if they were not witnessed to by some, they being such unheard-of cruelties as never were acted by any who profess themselvs to be Christian Magistrates, nay, nor by the worst of Heathen Magistrates that ever I read of; and I being an eye-witness to most of them as they were executed upon the innocent, shall be ready (if called thereunto) to answer to the truth of them, Anthony Hutchins.

You that be Magistrates in the City of Chester, who hath thus acted with prejudice against the people of God, and servants of God, you have turned your Sword backwards against the just, and ye have not been a praise to them that do well, but your fruits and actions have been a shame to men that fear God, & to modesty, & them that own true justice and equity; you make men offenders for words, and you persecute them that reprove sin in the Gate, and they is made a prey upon by you; you have provided a torturing place, a squeezing pressing place, for such as declare truth amongst you; you are become rebels against the truth; truth is fallen in the streets, and equity cannot enter, the door to that is shut; ye become abominable amongst men, your doings the Lord hath taken notice of: ye are boisterous and perverse, yea, envious in the persecution of the Lord's servants, and the Lords presence hath been amongst them in all their sufferings, yea in the greatest of your cruelty: can you be proud, and boast when you have done, that you would have all to see your peevishness, the beholders by, that ye may be upon

record brought. Doth not your fruits and actions before mentioned, dishonor the place of a Magistrate? We number not the just with the wicked, nor the godly with the profane, but put a difference: What have you gotten by all your actions? but shewed forth your spirits, whereby they are tryed not to be the spirit of Christ nor the Apostles, who saith, Love your Enemies, but you persecute your Friends; the Lord forgive your persecutions, persecutors were ever blind, you have manifested the end of your Religion in this the day of the Lord, and the fruits of your Teachers, and the end of your profession, and the order and government of your Church and Ministry, as before mentioned declares, besides all the abuses the people of God (the Saints) have had in their Meetings, which was never rebuked by the Magistrates.

GEORGE FOX.

Upon the 28. day of the 6th Month, 1657. I sent a Copy of all these things before-written, save only some which have been acted against the innocent since, and likewise some things which were acted before, which was not then in remembrance, which is added in this to Peter Leigh Mayor of Chester City. The direction that I writ in the beginning, was to this effect, That if he, or any other who was therein concerned, could object against the truth of anything therein written, they might do it before I went on with what I intended, wch intent of mine was to print the Book, though at that time I denied to certifie them so much; but the Bearer thereof Peter Leigh Mayor sent into Little-Ease in the Rock, but I heard nothing from them until the eighth day of the 7. Month, and then the Mayor sent

for me up to the Pentice by two Constables, and when I came in before them, I found Peter Leigh, Mayor; John Ratcliffe, Recorder; Edward Bradshaw, Justice of Peace, the two Sheriffs, and many more then present; the Mayor asked me if I had seen that Book, it lying before them, which was the same I sent him, as aforesaid; I said I had. He asked me if I wrote that Name at the latter end thereof, which was my own Name. I said I did not; but I told him I had gotten it written fair over after one that I had writ. Then he said, Do you own it? I said I did. He asked me if I read it over. I said I had. Then he gave me many threatening words. Then I asked them whether committed the greater evil, They that act cruelty, or they that write down cruelty when acted by another? The Recorder said, Who must judge of that? I said, Let that of God in your own consciences judge whether committeth the greater offence. The Recorder said, Many a one hath had their ears nailed to the Pillory for a lesse offence. I said, If he deserved to have his ears nailed to the Pillory that writ these things down, what did they deserve that acted them? Then they gave me threatening Words. I told them I desired no favor from them, but that I might have fair Plea in the face of a Court, and if I had transgressed the Law, I was willing to suffer by it. Likewise I told them, I judged it not equal they themselves should be Judges in their own cause. One of them said they would not, twelve men should judge it; but the Recorder said twenty four men should judge it. Then the Mayor said I was a railing fellow. I turned to the people, and asked if any of them heard me rail since I came; he said I did in the Book. I told him if I should say such words to them as Paul said to Elimus, they then would say I railed,

though truth might be written and Names and Titles might be given to men answerable to their actions, as Paul said to Elimus, whose Name was Elimus, yet Paul called him a child of the Devil, and an enemy to all righteousnesse; but I said, I had used no such Words to them. The Recorder said Paul might say so to Elimus, who was a Sorcerer. I said, All the Priests in England which preach for hire, and divine for money, are Sorcerers, for thereby the right ways of the Lord comes to be perverted. The Recorder said I must not judge them; I said, Their practice judged them. Then I charged them concerning their hard usuage of my Friends in that Little-Ease, or hole in the Rock; and asked them, where they ever read of such a prison as that wch bruised mens bodies in such a cruel manner, & told them the Law hath so much respect to men (though transgressors of the same) as to provide large prisons to secure their bodies in, and not such holes as these to presse and bruise them in, or words to this effect. I told them I could see drunkards and swearers passe up and down the Streets, but I heard of none of them that was put into that place. The Mayor told me if I saw such things, I might come and inform him thereof, and then see if he did punish them: I said, So I might get the same reward which Edward Morgan got, who came and complained to thee of a man that was ill drunk, and had ill abused him too, and thou caused him to be put into Little-Ease, and suffered the drunkard and quarreller to passe unpunished. Many more questions and answers passed betwixt us, which I omit to make mention of here; but (to be short) they put me to this issue, either to put in Sureties to appear before them the next Quarter Sessions holden for, and in the City, or to go to prison; but to put in Sureties

I refused, knowing myself to be clear from the breach of any Law, and they themselves to be guilty, according as it's written in the foregoing Relation; So into the Common Gaol for the City I was brought upon the eighth day of the seventh Month, 1657. I demanded a Copy of my Mittimus, and used all the means I could, which stood in my Freedom, but could get none, though the Recorder said I should have one. So when I had been in prison about four Weeks, the General Sessions at this City for the County was holden; so my body was by a Habeus Corpus removed out of the City-Goal to answer the Law before the Judges for the County; and before them I was brought upon the nineth day of the eighth Month, after I had lain in prison, (as is said) 32 days: So coming before the Judges, as is said, they demanded of the Recorder the causes of my imprisonment; so the Mittimus by which I suffered, was read in the Court; the substance contained therein was, That I had writ a Book of Libels, wherein I reproached Peter Leigh Esq; (for so it was written) and other Magistrates and Ministers in the City of Chester. To which I make this short answer, Libels are things which are scattered, and not owned, which are full of lyes and scoffs, and their whole intention is to reproach and revile them they are directed against; now so far as I know, things written and scattered upon this account, are Libels: Now this I sent to Peter Leigh Mayor, cannot have any colour to be called a Libel, for I writ my Name to it when I sent it, and likewise I had not scattered any of them at all, when I sent that to him, I owned it before them all, as is said in my examination, I put them to it to disprove anything I had written, if they could, which was the ground I sent it to them for, that if they would object against it,

they might, before I went on with what I now have accomplished, but they did not convince me of any thing I had written, to be false, neither could they; besides my intent therein was neither to reproach nor revile them, or any one of them, for I writ nothing therein but the truth, and the truth never reproached or reviled any man; for if any act those things that are not just, and of a good report, or hath used violence, or acted cruelty against any man, and the truth of these things be written down, and published abroad, and they who have thus acted, come thereby to be reproached, he that writes down the truth brings not the reproach, but he that doth the thing which is not right, brings the reproach upon himself. But to proceed, my Mittimus being read, the Judge asked the Recorder if he could prove against me any matter of fact; he said, A deal, but not anything which could prove any such a thing against me as matter of fact. The Judge spake a great deal to shew him wherein I was wronged, and then did release me, and set me free: So when I was cleared, before I went from the Bar I spoke to the Recorder in the hearing of the Judges and the whole Court, these words, viz. I would have the Recorder before you all (if he can) to disprove any one thing I have written; but before them all (as is said) he was silent, and could not: So to the whole Court it plainly appeared I was wrongfully imprisoned.

Righteousness exalteth a nation
But sin is a reproach to any people

ANTHONY HUTCHINS.

A Relation of the sufferings of friends in Cheshire, because that for conscience-sake they could not pay tythes and other things; and where anything hath been returned back, is mentioned, as I have had knowledge.

Great Budworth Parrish, Ephraim Elcock priest.

Thomas Buckley for tythes of the value of 12s. had a Horse taken from him for the use of the said Priest, worth 4l. as the men of the World judged.

George Veakin for the value of 4d. ob. which he claimed for Smoke-penny, and Easter Reckoning, had one brass pot taken from him worth 8s.

And likewise the said Geo. Veakin for the value of 6d. which they demanded for two years payment to their Priest, according as they in their wills had sessed him, took from him Work-Tools (being a Wheel-Wright by Trade) worth 7s.

Runkorn Parish, William Finmore Priest.

Henry Burtonwood for tythe of the value of 5s. had taken from him one Cow worth 2l. 13s. 4d. for the use of the said Priest abovesaid.

And at another time Henry Burtonwood for tythe-Corn of the value of 2l. 1s. 1d. had taken from him two Cows and one Heifer stirk, which were sold for about 7l. for the use of Priest Finmore abovesaid.

John Burtonwood for tythe-Wool and Lamb of the value of 8s. 3d. had taken from him two young Beasts, which they sold for 1l. 5s.

Thomas Boulton, for tythe-Corn of the value of 13s. had taken from him Corn worth five pound, for the use of Henry Brooks.

Sisly Cleaton had taken from her one Warming-Pan worth 6s. for tythe-flax, and she had none, being sued at Law, and cast by a false Oath for the use of Coll. Brook.

Widow Royle for tythe-Corn of the value 1l. 3s. had taken from her one Cow worth 3l. 10s. for the use of Coll. Hen. Brooks. And likewise taken from her one Load of Beans, nothing being demanded; and likewise she had one Bed Hilling taken for tythe too, for Coll. Brook.

Frodsam Parish.

Widow Millner for tythe-Corn of the value of 2l. 10s. had taken from her one Mare and one Cow, worth 7l. 10s. & likewise for tythe-Oats of the value of 11s. had taken from her one Colt worth 2l. besides she lay in prison 7. Weeks for the same thing, for the use of Earl Rivers.

James Brown for tythe-Corn of the value of 1l. 10s. had goods taken from him worth 5l. 13s. 4d. by valuation, for the use of Earl Rivers.

William Sarret for tythe-Corn of the value of 1l. 6s. 8d. had goods taken from him worth 5l. 10s. besides the said William Sarret was imprisoned for the same thing seven Weeks.

James Brown for tythe of the value of 13s. 4d. according unto their own valuation, had taken from him one yoke of Oxen worth 7l.

Wilinslow Parish, Iohn Brereton Priest.

Thomas Ianney for tythe-Corn of the value of 7s. 6d. had taken from him one Mare, out of which they took trebble damage, and returned the remainder back for the Priest abovesaid.

Thomas Janney for tythe-Corn of the value of 16s. 6d. had taken from him for the said Priest, two young Cows better worth then 6l.

Thomas Ianney again for tythe-Corn of the value of 1l. 8s. valued by the abovesaid Priests servants, had taken from him by Justice Writs one young Horse worth 4l. which makes up his three years suffering; and now for this year 1657, the priest hath gotten an order for trebble damage from two Justices, by whose Writs all hath been done abovesaid against Tho. Ianney.

Thomas Pots for tythe-Corn valued by the abovesaid priests servants to 1l. 6s. 8d. had taken from him by Justice Writs two Heifers, which they sold for 3l. 10s.

John Worthington for tythe-Corn of the value of 3l. 6s. had taken from him by Justice Writs, one Mare, and one young Horse, which were thought to be worth 12l. for the use of the said priest.

Richard Burgges for tythe-Corn of the value of 19s. by the priests servants, had taken from him by Justice-Writs, two Kine worth 5l.

Richard Burgges for tythe-Corn valued by the priests servants to 16s. had taken from him one young Heifer worth 2l. 6s. 8d.

Lawrence Pearson for tythe of the value of 8s. had taken from him one Horse worth 3l.

Anne Ianney of Handford, for tythe of the value of 13s. had taken from her one cow and one heifer, which were thought to be worth 6l. taken by one Robert Finy a constable, who denyed to shew any order from any in Authority to do the same. Most of this cruelty hath been done by Writs from two Justices, viz. Thomas Standley, and Thomas Brereton, being servants to this priests lusts.

Mobberley parish, Robert Barlow priest.

Thomas Heald for tythe-corn of the value of 14s. 6d. valued by the priests man, had taken from him one heifer, which was thought to be worth 1l. 13s. 4d.

Hugh Strettle for tythe-Corn of the value of 11s. 6d. had taken from him by two Justice Writs, two Sacks of Oats worth 1l. 8s. and the Constable of the Town being troubled at it, asked the priest how he took so much, seeing he professed not to take trebble damage of any: The Priest answered, That it cost him so much in Justices Dinners, and their men, and for Warrants, and for a Judgment; So this Scripture is fulfilled, The Heads judge for reward, and the Priests teach for hire, and the Prophets thereof divine for money, yet will lean upon the Lord. And so this is the measure the people of God receive of both Magistrates, Priests, and their people, until the Lord arise and plead the cause of the innocent against him that is too mighty for him.

Clarks wages, and repair of steeplehouses.

Thomas Buckley had taken from him a Brass pot worth 10s. because he could not pay 7s. 2d. to the repair of a Steeple-house.

Thomas Buckley had taken from him a 11. measures of Oats worth 1l. 2s. 8d. because he could not for conscience sake pay the Clarks, and to the repairing of the Steeplehouse, being their demand, was 17s. at Peever.

Henry Burtonwood had taken from him goods worth 5s. because he could not pay 2s. to the repair of the Steeple-house at Runkorn.

Henry Burttonwood likewise at another time had goods taken from him, being four Pewter-dishes, because he could not pay 2s. 6d. to the repaire of the abovesaid Steeple-house.

Ellin Boulton had taken from her four Pewter-dishes, and a Pewter Bowle, and one Pot, and one Candlestick, worth the sum of 1l. 3s. because she could not pay 3s. for the repair of the Steeplehouse at Runkorn.

Widow Royle had taken from her one brass Pan, and one Pot, and a dripping-Pan, worth 2l. 10s. because she could not pay to repair the Steeplehouse at Runkorn.

James Brown had taken from him one double Flaggon, and a Plow-Chain worth 6s. because he could not pay 2s. for the repair of the Steeplehouse at Frodsham.

Thomas Hill had taken from him one Pot worth 16s. because he could not pay 2s. for the repair of a Steeplehouse at Frodsham; And likewise at another time taken from him one Pot worth 6s. because he could not pay 1s. for the repair of the Steeplehouse abovesaid.

William Sarret had taken from him one Pot worth 12s. because he could not pay 2s. 6d. for the repair of the Steeplehouse at Frodsham.

John Burtonwood had taken from him one Skellet worth 5s. because he could not pay 2s. for the repair of a Steeple-house.

Thomas Ianney had taken from him one pewter Dish which cost 5s. because he could not pay 6d. to the repair of an Idols Temple at Wilinslow.

Thomas Janney because he conld not pay to the repair of a Bell, and repair of a Steeple-house, had taken from him four Joynt-Stools worth 6s. 8d.

Thomas Pots had taken from him one brass Pot and a Skimmer worth 10s. although he was free to pay all they demanded of him but 2d.

Thomas another time had taken from him one Coat, which they sold for 1l. because he could not pay 6s. 9d. to the repair of the Steeplehouse at Willinslow.

John Worthington had taken from him by Justice Writs, one brass pan, and two pewter dishes worth 1l. because he could not pay 7s. to the repair of the Steeplehouse at Willinslow.

John Worthington had taken from him one pair of Cart Wheels bound with iron, because he could not pay 12s. to the repair of a Steeplehouse at Willinslow.

Richard Burges had taken from him one brass pan worth 17s. because he could not pay 3s. for the repair of a Steeple-house at Wilinslow.

At another time Richard Burges had taken from him a Gun which cost 10s. because he could not pay 6s. to repair the Steeplehouse abovesaid.

Robert Millner had taken from him three pewter dishes worth 7s. because he could not pay 2s. to the repair of the Steeplehouse abovesaid.

At another time from Robert Millner one Gun worth 9s. because he could not pay 2s. for the repair of the Steeplehouse.

Robert Pearson and his Son taken from them two pewter dishes worth 3s. 4d. because they could not pay 2s. 6d. for the use abovesaid.

James Harrison had his Coat taken from him because he could not pay 2s. 8d. which upon their account was due for another man to pay for the repair of the Steeplehouse at Wilimslow.

Robert Pearson and his Son had taken from them one brass pan worth 12s: because they could not pay 3s. 4d. to the use abovesaid.

John Falkener because he could not pay to the repair of the Steeplehouse at Wilinslow, had goods taken from him worth 5s. 2d: for 1s: 4d:

Thomas Lieuzley had taken from him one pot worth 16s: because he could not pay 6s: to the repair of the Steeple-house at Runkorn.

Concerning Swearing:

Thomas Leuzley because he could not swear, had a Cow taken from him worth 2l: 10s: besides, suffered six Weeks and five dayes imprisonment for the same thing:

And likewise seven of these friends above-mentioned, to wit, John Worthington, Thomas Janney, Thomas Pots, Richard Burges, Robert Millner, James Harrison, Edward Alcock, suffered the spoyling of their Goods

to the value of a 11l: 10s: 8d: for but passing to a Meeting so far as their own Warrant expressed, but two full miles distant from their habitations: And this was done by an Order from two Justices, Edward Hide, Thomas Standley, and it hath been often laid before the Justices at several Sessions, but still they pervert justice:

Tho: Burrowes in the parish of Budworth, for tythe of the value of 1l: 3s: had taken from him one Heifer worth 3l. 10s:

So by their fruits you may know them, (as Christ said) and their folly (yea rather their abounding wickedness) begins now to be made manifest unto all men, and the testimony of truth will shortly be fulfilled upon them, which hath been declared upon them; As a troop of robbers wait for a man, so a company of Priests murther in the way by consent, Hos. 6: 9: And they spoile mens goods, and punish mens persons, as men that are without mercy, which have never learned of the Father, to be merciful as he is merciful, but are more cruel than the Heathens, or any that went before them, so that as the Lord hath said, They will become a shame; and a perpetual reproach unto all generations shortly.

THE END.

THE RIVER DEE:
FROM A SURVEY MADE BY
CAPT. GRANVILLE COLLINS,
Hydrographer to their Majesties Charles II and James II.
COMMENCED 1684: COMPLETED 1689.
CHESTER
Grange L. Wood
Grange Mill
Calder Mill
Irby Hall
Red Rocks
WEST KIRBY
BLACKPOOL
DORPOLL
HESWALL
GAYTON
NESTON
Kayton Lodge
PARGET
Old Kay House
KAY
BURTON ROCKS
SHOTWICK
Flookers Brow
Blacon Head
Hyle Sand
Hilbre Point
Hilbre Isle
Eye
Hyle Spit
Seldom Stone Rocks
RIVER DEE
Wild Roads
Point of Aire
Flint Sands
Saltney Marsh
HARDEN
BAGILT
Flint Castle
FLINT
HOLYWELL
MOSTYN HALL
All along this Shore are remains of Submarine thickets & teeth of extinct animals have been packed up
NOTE.—The depth of water is set down in fathoms at low water on a Spring Tide, at which time the tides rise five fathoms, and three-and-a-half at Neap Tide.
SCALE
Miles

The River Dee

BY FRANK SIMPSON

(Read 15th January, 1907)

THE River Dee rises in Merionethshire not far from Dolgelly, runs through Bala Lake, skirts the counties of Denbigh and Flint, and so through the lovely Vale of Llangollen, passes Bangor-Isycoed till it becomes a boundary to Cheshire near Shocklach. Passing by Farndon to Aldford it has Cheshire on both sides, thence running on through Eaton and Chester, it empties itself into the Irish Sea, much nearer to the Flintshire than the Cheshire side, and not far from the Point of Air.

It is one of the most historical rivers in the kingdom. Had it not been for the river the history of this City would not have been so unique, as the Romans would not have selected Chester as one of their principal "military stations"; for we know they always fixed upon sites where there was a constant supply of fresh water and, if possible, a communication with the sea.

Chester was a port of great consequence even in early times. It was a station for the English navy, and frequently the seat of the Court of the Mercian kingdom.

In 973 A.D. King Edgar sailed with his fleet from the estuary of the Severn to Chester on the Dee, and there came to meet him six kings, and they all plighted their troth to him that they would be his fellow-workers by land and sea.

It was at Chester that Edgar's son Æthelred assembled his fleet A.D. 1000. In this year the King went into Cumberland, and ravaged it well-nigh all; his ships should have come to meet him from Chester, but they were not able; then they devastated Anglesea.

In 1055, after supporting Ælfgar the fleet went to Chester and there awaited their pay which Ælfgar had promised them. Tolls were levied with a very stringent hand. If ships came or departed to or from the port of the City without the King's licence, the King and the Earl received from every man who was in them forty shillings.

If any ship came contrary to the King's command and against his peace, then the King and the Earl took the ships and the men and all things in it. But if she came in the King's peace and with his licence, then they who were in her quietly sold such things as they had; but on the ship's departure the King and the Earl had four pence for every last. If the ship had marterns skins on board, the præfect of the King might command the owners to sell to no one until they had been first shewn to him. Whosoever failed to observe this forfeited forty shillings.

Edward II. in 1311 made a requisition on the Mayor of Chester to supply two ships fully-equipped with men, arms, and provisions for his Scottish expedition.

The Black Prince's charters confer on the City admiralty powers, giving the Mayor authority to make attachments in the water of the Dee between Chester and the "Arnold's Eye," for tolls and customs and dues on imposts.

Richard II. appointed Chester as a rendezvous in 1392 for the ships which were to convey the Duke of Gloucester to Ireland; and it was one of the conditions of the pardon granted by Henry IV. in 1403 to the citizens for their share in Hotspur's rebellion, that they should furnish shipping for the relief of Beaumaris Castle.

Several times during the same reign the City was required to equip a small fleet to guard the North Wales coast against the Scottish cruisers, the Mayor of Chester acting as admiral.

As time went on navigation was greatly impeded by the shifting sands, and the port proper was gradually removed from the City nearer the mouth of the river.

The silting of the sand which destroyed the wharfages of Old Quay and Parkgate was subject for legislation so far back as 1499.

The ravages of the sea have been so great that Dove Point has been swept away; a road and part of a racecourse have been swallowed up; and an outer Leasowe lighthouse has been carried off; and at the present time, beyond the extension of the embankment, an average of two to three yards of land are every year being washed away at Hilbre. The tide here flows with great rapidity, and owing to this and to

fogs many lives have been lost in crossing the sands to and from the mainland. Eventually Dawpool, which is just below Caldy on the verge of the river, became the port and the rendezvous for the embarkation of the troops of Cheshire and Lancashire; near here the gallant Schomberg encamped August 1689, and soon after embarked for Ireland with his force numbering 16000 men, including the Cheshire Regiment. King William III. shortly afterwards sailed for Ireland from the place which is still known as the King's Gap.

Navigation had become so bad through this continual silting up of the river that an order was made dated 3rd March, 1541, addressed to Mr. Hennage, Master of the King's woods beyond Flint, directing him to deliver to the Mayor of Chester 200 trees of His Majesty's woods in Flintshire and Cheshire that be nearest Lightfote Pole, to be used in making a new haven there.

Henry VIII. having conferred a sum of £40 on the newly erected college in Chester[1] diverted this gift to the construction of this new haven.

In February 1547 the Lords of the Council, in reply to a petition for aid in carrying out the projected work, announce that they have advised King Edward in favour of it.

A further appeal was made 19th July, 1551, to the Lord Treasurer (the Marquis of Winchester) by the Magistrates of Chester, praying his intercession with the King for a sum of money in aid of the new haven or quay in Wirral, then building of stone in the face

[1] This would probably be the "Old King's School."

and belly of the sea, which would cost at least £5,000 or £6,000.

Among the City records in the Muniment Room at the Town Hall, Chester, is a book entitled "The book of benevolence or voluntary contributions made in 1559 towards the making of the new haven." They were called voluntary contributions; but there are records of some people being imprisoned for not paying.

In 1560 a collection was made "the Sunday after All Saints' Day" in all the churches throughout the kingdom, to raise a fund to build this new quay or new haven. A special assessment was levied in Chester for the same purpose.

The work was in progress in 1565 when Anthony Hurleston was appointed overseer at a weekly salary of 3s. 4d. Early in 1576 the work at the new haven, after lingering on for nearly thirty years, was approaching completion, and the City authorities appealed through the Vice-Chamberlain to the Earl of Leicester for a grant out of the customs.

In 1586 news was received in the City "that 700 Spanyardes ships had landed at Worrall"; this caused great excitement in Chester, but much to the relief of the citizens proved to be a false alarm.

Appeals for help to complete the quay continued until 1608, when through want of funds the work could not be continued; and at a later date was partly demolished and eventually sold (1779) to Sir Roger Mostyn.

In 1693 Evan Jones brought forward a proposal for making the River Dee navigable, and bringing up ships of a hundred tons burthen to the Roodee, at his own

expense, on condition that he should have all such lands as should be recovered on payment of the usual rent of recovered lands to the Crown, and one-fourth of the clear rents or profits to the City Companies; but this was rejected.

The credit for the first suggestion for recovering the navigation of the river is generally ascribed to a Mr. Yarranton, who made a survey of the Dee and its estuary in 1674. He drew a plan and formed the project of a new channel in a straight line from Chester, terminating opposite to Flint Castle; and also a scheme for recovering a large tract of land from the sea.

Yarranton published a book in 1677, the title of which was "England's Improvement by Sea and Land, to outdo the Dutch without fighting, etc." Such another scheme had been suggested fifty years before Yarranton's book appeared, by a Mr. Webb, a citizen of Chester.

In 1698 Francis Gell made a proposal to the corporate body nearly similar to that of Evan Jones; this proposal was at first rejected, but upon being brought forward a secoud time, and security being proposed by Mr. Gell, it was agreed to by the Corporation 16th October, 1698. A petition was in consequence presented to Parliament, and in 1699 an Act passed vesting for twenty-one years the right of reclamation in the Corporation of Chester; but at the expiration of that time very little had been accomplished, and after spending considerable sums, and much litigation with landowners, the scheme was entirely abandoned.

In 6 George II. (1732) a further Act gave the right of reclamation from Chester to the sea to Nathaniel

Kinderley and his heirs and assigns for ever, and allowed him for compensation such lands as he reclaimed in the vast estuary of the Dee, commonly known as the "white sands." This Act stipulated that there should be sixteen feet of water in every part of the river at a moderate spring tide; and also enacts that, if when the navigation is completed it "shall be proved that vessels laden with cheese, drawing fourteen feet of water cannot safely pass down the river, Mr. Kinderley or his assigns shall within twelve months after notice of this fact given, at their own cost and charges, make a wet dock or basin capable of holding twenty ships at least within two miles of the lower parts of the works of navigation."

14 George II. (1740) another Act was obtained by which the undertakers were duly incorporated by the name of "The Company of Proprietors of the undertaking for recovering and preserving the navigation of the Dee." Kinderley's successors, now duly incorporated, opened a new cut or channel ten miles in length from Chester down to Connah's Quay; the now existing river channel. The first sod was cut 20th April, 1733, by Mr. Manley, and the water of the old channel was turned into that of the new in April 1737; this enabled vessels of from 250 to 300 tons to come up to the City. Lands adjacent to this new channel had been reclaimed by Kinderley and his successors, and are to-day known as "Sealand," which comprises some of the richest farmsteads and most fertile soil in the kingdom. Some 27,300 acres of this reclaimed land was offered for sale by auction November 24th, 1906.

17 George II. (1743) a third Act was passed lowering the rates of tonnage from 6d. to 2d. per ton, and

reducing the depth of water from sixteen to fifteen feet from the sea to Wilcoxon Point (nearly opposite the Gas Works).

Little is known of Kinderley. He appears to have been an engineer, and was associated with the draining of the Fen country. Though nominally the original undertaker, he was in reality only the agent for the Manleys of Lache Hall, and would probably be brought into contact with Sir John Glynne and other riparian landowners.

It is more than probable that Kinderley's new inclosure scheme did more to destroy than restore the navigation of the river.

By the Act 6 George II. (1732) the passage across the river for passengers on horseback, or for carts or carriages, could only be demanded of the ferry boats when the river was so deep as that at low water the river was not fordable; a clause so indefinite in its construction as to give rise to constant disputes; to remedy that the Act of 17 George II. (1743) stated:—

"That two ferry boats should at all times be constantly kept by the company at their own proper costs and charges, with proper and sufficient attendants, and all good, substantial, and effectual ropes, tackle, and necessaries proper thereunto; and that the person or persons attending such boats shall ferry over all such passengers in the said boats at all times when required thereto, without being paid anything for the same."

By a fourth Act of 26 George II. (1752) the Company are directed to pay £200 annually for ever to Sir John Glynne, his heirs, &c., and other freeholders of the Parish of Hawarden, for the waste lands, commons, and salt marshes on the north side of the new channel.

This is now paid to the Hawarden Embankment Trustees, who receive and deal with a rent-charge of £250, called the Hawarden annuities.

From 1743 down to 1899 the original Company of undertakers founded by Kinderley did little to improve the navigation of the river. The Chester Corporation then obtained from Parliament an Act constituting a Conservancy Board for the maintenance of the navigation, leaving to the old Company (called the Dee Land Company) only the work of effecting further reclamation.

Past experience has demonstrated only too well the variable moods of the Dee. From damage done in 1851 enormous gaps still remain in the banks at Connah's Quay. The fact that the London and North-Western Railway Company voluntarily keep in repair the Flintshire embankments to protect their line from flooding is further evidence of the dangerous character of the coast. The enormous expenditure this entails may be gathered from the following extracts from the local papers :—

"October 8th, 1904. The London and North-Western Railway Company have been all week hurriedly preparing the defences of their important Holyhead line, near Holywell, against the high tides which are due this week-end, and must inevitably swamp the narrow ribbon of land separating the railroad from the Dee estuary. On Monday an additional hundred men were drafted to the scene, and now, altogether, there are six hundred men engaged in the fight against time and tide. The great sixty yards' gap, about a mile from Holywell station in the direction of Mostyn, is being daily visited by hundreds of people. Another big slice is almost gone. All is bustle. Platelayers, masons, and navvies are there in their hundreds heaving great sleepers, laying rails, unloading clay, and placing great stones. There are foremen urging them to their utmost."

Another account dated October 22nd, reads:—

"ANOTHER GREAT BREACH IN THE EMBANKMENT.

"The sea has made a fresh and most serious breach in the Dee embankment on the Mostyn side of the existing gap. It is about fifty yards distant from the original gap, and is about twenty to thirty feet wide. A section of the embankment is now intact, but cut off at both ends; and these ends are being eroded rapidly by the ebb and flow of the tides. The engineers of the L. & N.-W. have now realized that for just a mile of its length, the Dee embankment—thirty feet broad at the base and twelve at the top—will be washed away, and they are taking the necessary measures to limit the scope of the mischief by the sea to their trunk lines of railway.

"Now for over a fortnight 300 ten-ton trucks of quarry stone have been run daily to the foreshore, and either poured into the sea breach or utilised to form a fresh embankment. Three schooners are also bringing stone from Denbighshire quarries and landing them. It is estimated that the railway company have already brought upon the ground about fifty thousand tons of material, in addition to which they have pitched six thousand tons of quarry stone into the breach itself, in order to prevent the seas breaking over the land. Meanwhile the work of protecting the line itself by the construction of a sea-wall, a mile in length, is rapidly proceeding."

During the latter part of 1906 these embankments again received much damage, and proved silent witnesses of the tremendous forces of wind and wave even at a distance of many miles from the river's mouth.

Millions of money have been spent on it, and to-day it is in a worse state than when these so-called improvements commenced. During litigation which commenced in 1870 the late Lord Wenlock lost upwards of £125,000 which he had loaned on mortgage to the original proprietors.

During the 18th century many families of nobility were brought to the verge of ruin by investing in

Dee stock; many persons sold their shares at ninety per cent. loss.

In 1903 Messrs. Stephenson & Son, the eminent engineers, were asked to make a report on the Dee; this they did after making a careful survey, taking soundings, &c.

According to the report and plan prepared, the scheme was to construct a channel from Mostyn Deep to Saltney, fifteen miles in length, the cutting of five miles of the Bagillt clay bank, and the removal of a mass of freestone known as the "Rock Bar" at Connah's Quay; in addition to these trifles they advise the continuation of the northern training wall towards Mostyn Deep, some six or seven miles, and a fleet of dredgers, the whole at a cost of £500,000.

At a sitting of the Royal Commission on Canals and Waterways, held in London, October 31st, 1906, evidence was called with respect to the scheme for the improvement of the navigation of the Dee. It was stated that the Queen's Ferry Colliery Company, Limited, had sunk pits on the south bank with the view of driving under the river and working the coal that had been proved by boring to exist under the reclaimed land on the north bank. After tunnelling for the last three or four years they had now struck coal, and this expert added, there will be sufficient coal to come to that colliery to last the next one hundred years; at a low computation it is estimated at a hundred million tons, and that only so far as the one colliery was concerned.

No doubt engineering science has advanced, but very careful thought and investigation is required before spending such a huge sum of money. It requires more

than ordinary skill and foresight, especially as the embankment will have for its foundation the treacherous "Sands of Dee."

Supposing the pecuniary difficulty, in itself a "Rock Bar" to the scheme, were surmounted, the gain to Flintshire would be immense, to Chester problematical, as by parliamentary enactment the course of the river cannot be diverted to the Cheshire side.

Why should not our Welsh neighbours who harried us enough in days of yore now cease from troubling, work out their own salvation, and make Holywell a port to develop their mineral traffic?

During the 18th century Parkgate became a fashionable bathing place. Lady Hamilton, a native of Nesse, visited here in 1784 that she might receive benefit from the bathing in removing some eruption of her skin. She however complained about the expense of the bathing horse and cost of her dress, which amounted to the sum of 1/2 per day.

Handel stayed at the "George Hotel"; he was detained on account of the wind being unfavourable for his embarkation for Ireland. Whether he wrote his "Messiah" here or not, is uncertain: being unable to proceed on his journey, it was only natural that he should wish to try part of his great work, especially as there were trained singers close at hand. He therefore invited the services of those of the Chester Cathedral choir, and other musicians who could read at sight, to try the choruses; but after repeated attempts we are told they could not get through "And with his stripes." In a rage he said, "I thought you could all read at sight." "Yes, but not at first sight," they replied.

At spring tides the water near the "Old Quay House" (now a land-locked farm) is shown by Collins' survey to have been between thirty and forty feet deep. This house was for some years tenanted by Mr. Melling, a well-known marine artist. It is said that Samuel Warren, Q.C., wrote his successful novel "Ten Thousand a Year" in this house. On the Cheshire side of the river near to Neston is a large plain of sand intersected with numerous gutters, that eventually find their way to the bed of the river. This tract of land is rarely covered with the tide, and there is grass upon it which for many years was the winter habitation of the barnacle geese; they seldom fed in the day time, but sat out in the middle of the marsh motionless for hours until night, when they separated into small flocks and flew about to feed. As a rule these geese arrived about the 7th October, remained a few days, and then disappeared for a time, afterwards returning in great numbers. Many were shot and sent to Chester market, where they found a quick sale at 2/6 each. They have now disappeared from the Dee, a few stragglers only appearing in 1904. Passing Burton one cannot help but pause and call to mind "Kingsley's" pathetic verses "Sands-o'-Dee." Doubts have often been expressed as to whether the Chester or Scotch Dee was meant, but the following communication received by me some short time ago should remove any doubt that may have existed:—

"Keyes Eversley,
Winchfield,
March 3rd, 1906.

Dear Mr. Simpson,

It is always a pleasure to be of the slightest use to anyone in Chester; and in this case I am particularly glad to be able to settle the point about the "Sands of Dee" once and for all.

Not only did my father tell me that it was written about the Cheshire Dee, but a moment's thought I should have supposed would show those who claim the poem for Scotland that they are in error, if they read the first and second verses carefully. The Scottish Dee flows east. How, therefore, would it be possible for the "Western wind" to bring up the "Western tide"? Also, the poem was written in 1849, and at that time my father had never set foot in Scotland; though Cheshire, from which our family came originally, was well-known to him by study and affection, if not by close observation. . . . . .

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
ROSE G. KINGSLEY."

At Shotwick there were extensive salt works; the river here swept round and formed a bay, where vessels loaded the salt. Here also were the remains of an ancient castle whose walls had been washed by the waters of the Dee. This was one of a chain of fortresses built by Hugh Lupus to protect the frontier of his Palatine Earldom from the incursions of the Welsh, to which the shallow waters of the Dee rendered this part of the Hundred more exposed. Among the castles then erected for the purpose of defence, Shotwick was one of the most important. None of the stones now remain in their original position, but some may be seen in the village, having been carted away to repair walls, and in some cases to build pig-styes. It was from here Henry II. set sail on one of his expeditions to Ireland.

From Burton to Connah's Quay is a causeway erected by the Dee Enclosure Company for reclaiming the marshland, and converting it to grazing purposes. Thousands of acres have been thus enclosed, and are now used for pasturage. The enclosures were commenced in 1736, and are still in progress.

During the great storm of 1878 a heavy breach was made in this causeway. To repair this breach men were employed to remove the sub-soil which overlies the sandstone rock of which the "Cop" was constructed. In course of the work during 1877 about twenty-nine skeletons were discovered about five feet below the surface, lying side by side, their heads with one exception laid to the west and feet to the east. They measured from five feet ten inches to six feet; the teeth were white and perfect; not a vestige of clothing was about them; neither arms or ornaments of any kind which might serve as a clue to their identity.

The bridge in the near distance is known as Hawarden Bridge, worked by hydraulic power, and over which the Great Central Company run their trains. In the immediate neighbourhood are a number of works employing many hands; one of them upwards of 2,000. The chairman of the Company a short time ago before a Royal Commission, stated that his firm came to the Dee simply and solely because of the water facilities; and that if the river were improved his firm would enlarge their works, and probably double the number of those whom they already employ.

Nearer Chester is another bridge, used for passenger and vehicular traffic. This took the place some few years ago of a ferry-boat, and was known as the higher ferry. The River Dee Company caused borings to be made through the reclaimed land, when it was found that the "sea sand" was twenty-four yards deep: it is therefore evident by this vast deposit of sand, that the silting up of the Dee estuary had been taking place even during the Roman occupation of Deva.

A few miles nearer Chester is "Saltney Wharf," used in connection with the Great Western Railway. From here we get a long straight stretch of the river, reaching to what was known as the "Cheese Stage." The stage has now entirely disappeared. This is a favourite place for people to assemble to see the "Dee Bore" or head of the tide, which has been estimated to flow at the rate of eight or nine miles an hour. When standing here we hear a rumbling sound, gradually getting stronger and stronger; shortly, we see coming round the Saltney corner a line of foam, getting larger, working from side to side as it comes in contact with the bank on either side, rushing along carrying with it any obstacle that may be in its way. The illustration is "the bore" which did such great damage to the Dee embankments in October 1904.

A little nearer the City is the "Crane Wharf," principally used by small coasting vessels. During the early part of the 19th century there was a daily communication between Chester and Liverpool by the packet from this wharf, and great numbers of passengers were conveyed. The water here at one time flowed up to the "New or Water Tower," as shown by *Braun's* map published about 1580.

Within a few hundred yards of the wharf are several large gasometers. Whilst preparing the foundations for one of these (June 1886) there was found beneath seventeen feet of river silt and five feet six inches of gravel, a Roman pig of lead, which may now be seen in the Archæological room of the Grosvenor Museum, bearing the following inscription:—

IMP . VESP . AUG . V . T . IMP . III . . S
DECEANGI

The Dee Bore

Frank Simpson, Photo.

Copyright

The expansion is: Imperatore Vespasiano Augusto V. Tito Imperatore III Consulibus. The word "Deceangi" informs us that the lead came from the territories of the Ceangi, who then inhabited the present counties of Flint, Denbigh, and Carnarvon. This pig of lead had probably been brought from Flint by water, and had been lost overboard in process of landing. During the 16th century Flintshire was very prominent in regard to its lead production, and continues so to the present time.

Near to these gasometers a century ago were several noted ship-building yards. This industry had been carried on at Chester for many centuries; several vessels of war were built here carrying about twenty-four guns each; and merchant ships have been launched of upwards of five hundred tons burthen.

In *Lysons'* "Magna Britannia," published 1810, it states:—

"There are now more ships built at Chester than at Liverpool, they being in great estimation among the merchants of that and other principal sea-ports of England and Scotland as particularly well founded, and in the mariners' phrase 'sea-worthy.'"

Passing under the railway bridge, erected in 1846, which collapsed the following year during the passage of a train, several people being killed, we get a view of the Roodee: it now contains 65 acres 1 rood 32 poles of land, but at one time was of much larger dimensions, extending from the Water Tower to the Bridgegate. It lay open to the tide till about the year 1587. At the close of the 16th century the Corporation, to whom it belonged, devised to one Thomas Lyneal, servant of Sir Francis Walsingham, this pasture for the term of

twenty-one years, together with as much land as he could gain from the sea. He was also to make at his own costs a quay for boats and barques to unload at full sea near the Watergate, for which he was at first to have twopence for every vessel passing with any lading, but after that the sum of fourpence, and Lyneal was to pay an annual rent of £20 to the City.

The name is taken from "Eye," the watery situation; and the Saxon word "Rode," later changed to "Rood," the cross which stood there.

In 1401 an award was made that it could not be tithed by the Rector of Holy Trinity in consequence of its being land recovered from the sea; although tithe free the Rector had the privilege of gratuitously pasturing one horse; this was in force up to 1820. The Rector now receives £5 per annum from the Chester Corporation in lieu of the former right.

The Grosvenor Bridge here passes over the Dee. The first stone was laid by the Marquis of Westminster 1st October, 1827, and it was formally opened by Queen (then Princess) Victoria October 1832. It was built with the approaches at a cost of £36,000. The bridge at that time was unequalled in the history of bridge building.

Following the course of the river, we arrive where once stood the Shipgate, sometimes called the "hole in the wall" (at one time the only entrance into Chester from the suburb of Handbridge), so named because ships of burthen came and unloaded near it: it was the landing place to the ferry from Handbridge prior to a bridge being erected. It was removed April 1831, but may now be seen in the Groves. If from this

point (where originally stood the Shipgate) we look across the river to the covered stand or shelter, we get the exact line of the old Roman ford. From about this spot King Edgar was rowed up the Dee by eight tributary kings, in token of their subjection to his rule. *Bradshawe*, the monk of St. Werburgh's Abbey, says:—

"Kynge Edgar approached the City of Legions,
Nowe called Chestre, specified afore,
Where viii kynges mette of divers nacions,
Ready to give Edgar reverence and honour,
Legiance and fidelite, deeply sworne ful sore
At the same cite; after to be obedient
Prompt at his callying to come to his parliament.

"From the Castell he went to the water of Dee
By a prive posturne through walles of the towne.
The kyng took his barge with mycle rialte,
Rowing upwarde to the Churche of Saynt John;
The forsayd viii kynges with him went alone.
Kynge Edgar keyt the storne, as most principall;
Eche kyng had an ore to labour withall."

The open space on the south bank has always been known as King Edgar's field: tradition says his palace stood there. The projecting rock is partially excavated, and known as "Edgar's cave"; at the entrance is a Roman sculpture representing Minerva, accompanied by her usual attribute "the owl"; this is now partly obliterated.

The Dee Bridge here crosses the river; this is a genuine relic of Plantagenet times. In 1280 a tax was laid on the whole county to rebuild it under an order from Edward I.; previously there had existed a wooden bridge from the time of Ethelfleda.

In 1227 one bridge collapsed, and the high tides washed its successor away in 1279. In 1499 the south

end being much decayed was taken down and rebuilt, and a tower for its defence added at the Handbridge entrance; this was taken down about the time (1782) the present gate was erected. It was widened on the east side in 1826 by a footpath. There are seven arches visible, no two being alike.

At the north end of the bridge stand the "Old Dee Mills"; the date of their first erection is not known; mention is made of them in a deed of Hugh Lupus which dates them back at least to the Norman Conquest. These mills have been destroyed by fire four times; the first conflagration broke out about twelve o'clock at night on Saturday, September 26th, 1789; the second about the same hour on Saturday, March 6th, 1819, on which occasion the progress of the flames was so rapid that the whole of the premises with the exception of part of the outward wall were destroyed in less than six hours, and the loss sustained was upwards of £40,000. A third fire took place in January 1847; and on May 9th, 1895, they were for the fourth time wrecked by fire.

In the year 1284 they were leased by Edward I. for twelve years at a rental of £200 per annum to Richard the Engineer; this would be equivalent to about £5,000 of our present money: at this period and until 1648 every inhabitant of the City lay under obligation to grind at these mills, excepting the tenants of the Abbot and monks of St. Werburgh: this may account for the heavy rental.

The Black Friars of Chester in 1396 were made "tolfre" and "hopper free" at these mills; a privilege also extended to the White or Carmelite Friars of the City February 13th, 1400, on the petition of the Prior

Dee Bridge, Mills, and Weir

Frank Simpson, Photo.

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and Convent, which set forth that they were so impoverished by a great murrain and a raid committed in the parts round about them, that they could not serve God or live honestly without aid.

Ray in his proverbial phrases has the following:—"If thou hadst the rent of the Dee Mills thou wouldst spend it." The Black Prince granted them for life to Sir Howell y Fwyall, Constable of Criccieth Castle, in reward for his bravery at the battle of Poictiers, where he took the French King prisoner.

From these mills the song of the "Jolly Miller of the Dee" derived its title.

The Causeway or Weir on the east side of the bridge is recorded to have been first built by Hugh Lupus, the Conqueror's nephew, who granted the fishing above the weir to several of his dependents, reserving to himself the "Earl's pool." On the south side of this pool once stood the salmon cage, now, with the buildings and skin-yard adjoining, abolished.

On February 5th, 1601, a great part of the causeway broke down, so that no water could come near the mills until the breach was stopped in the May following.

During the 17th century there was much litigation respecting the causeway, which was deemed not only an injury to the lands above, but was supposed to prevent the stream of the Dee from having its natural effect in cleansing the harbour from the accumulating sands.

In 1646 Parliament made an Order for the destruction within four months both of the causeway and mills, but it was never carried out. Some such

measure as this had been brought forward by Sir Richard Trevor[2] in 1608, and was then resisted by the Gamull family: the matter was referred to the Privy Council, and by them to the Judges, who agreed that the causeway should remain.

Many able authorities of to-day attribute this silting up of the Dee to the erection of this causeway, as materially lessening the natural scour. The citizens began to complain (1377) about depression in trade, consequent upon the destruction of the port and the gradual silting up of the river. A similar complaint was made in 1508.

King Edward VI. granted the mills with the fishery at Chester, in exchange for the estates of Bourne and Moreton in Lincolnshire, to Sir Richard Cotton, from whose family they were purchased in 1587, subject to a reserved rent of £100 per annum, by Thomas Gamull, father of Sir Francis Gamull, Bart., and were inherited by Sir Francis' coheiresses: since that time they passed through successive hands until they were purchased by the Corporation, together with the water-rights pertaining to them.

Looking east, we see the Suspension Bridge erected in 1852, forming a connection between the suburb of Queen's Park and the City. The bridge has a span of 262 feet, and is 417 feet in length. The meadows on the right were anciently known as the "Earl's Eye," and were covered with water at every tide.

A little beyond the bend of the river are Boughton Fords; here the river is wide and very shallow. During the Roman occupation of Chester there was a properly constructed ford for the passage of man

[2] Sir Richard Trevor owned Marford Mill.

and beast. Several Roman rings have been found here, which are now preserved in the Archæological Society's collection at the Grosvenor Museum.

From the "Red House" onwards towards Heron Bridge stretches the long reach, on which the regatta is held each year. For nearly six miles the woods of Eaton may be seen along the right bank. On the opposite side Huntington Hall is just visible: it belonged at one time to the Cotton family, and after that became the property of the Beverleys, and at a later date of the Spencer family. In 1772 Huntington Hall belonged to Richard Williams, Esq., of Mold, whose father was Rector of Hawarden. This Hall was at one time a residence of importance, but all trace of the ancient manor house has disappeared: there is, however, a moat still left in a piece of land adjoining the present hall, and within it the mansion stood. There are four empty moats within a little more than a mile of Huntington Hall, and no record is left of the domiciles that they formerly encircled: the moats in this part of Cheshire are almost innumerable.

The part known as Heron Bridge is one of the most beautiful spots on the river: on the right bank stands a house approached from the road, but its chief front is towards the river; it lies among beautiful trees on a bank overlooking a bend of the Dee. There was a Heronry here at one time; and on either side of the river at this point there were two very large willow trees whose branches met and formed (as it were) a natural bridge; from these facts the place derives its name.

Eccleston Ferry, better known to old Cestrians as "Jimmy-the-boats," is now a favourite resort for

pleasure seekers during the boating season. The ferry house is a modern timbered building of very different design to the old house of 1810: the ferry-boat was worked with ropes, but now has more modern appliances worked with chains under the water. According to Domesday Book, Eccleston has had her ferry-boat for upwards of nine hundred years. There was a weir about here at one time, and a salmon fishery farmed by a London Company.

In connection with the Dee was an ancient office called the "Sergeancy of the Dee" *(custos ripariæ aquæ de Dee)*, an office originally pertaining to the Earldom of Chester.

During the early part of the 14th century Robert de Eton claimed, by right of himself and his ancestors who had held the same beyond legal memory, the Sergeancy of the Dee from Eaton weir to Blacon. It included the right to remove all nets unlawfully placed in the river, and a certain proportion of all nets forfeited and of the fish therein; and to have a ferry-boat at Eaton over the water, for which he should be paid by the neighbours according to their pleasure; but from every stranger, if he has a horse and is a merchant, one halfpenny; if not a merchant the payment to be at his option.

Rival claims seem to have been made by the Chester Company of "Drawers in Dee" in 1700, which led to the abandonment of some of the Grosvenor claims in 1705; and a dispute of long standing between the Corporation and the Grosvenor family, as to certain fishery rights, was settled in favour of the Corporation in 1710.

Passing Eaton Hall on our right we are at the part called "crooked Dee," where it makes a considerable loup, going out of its way for half a mile and returning to its former course. The bridge crossing the river is known as the Iron Bridge. This ornamental structure of 150 feet span was erected by Lord Westminster in 1824, at a cost of £8,000. This locality is known as Aldford, deriving its name from a ford across the Dee; so great was its importance, that a strong castle was built for its defence to prevent the Welsh from crossing into Cheshire. It was also the ancient communication between the northern and southern Watling Streets. The form of the castle was singular, resembling in its plan when added to the surroundings, a great Welsh harp laid flat on the ground. The outer court was triangular, with the exception of a corner rounded off by the moat of the keep: the three sides were about 130, 120, and 55 yards in length, and it was defended by a fosse about twenty yards wide. The site of the keep is now called "Blobb Hill," and the other parts the "Tower Hall Croft." Blobb Hill is in a field to the right of the avenue leading from the Iron Bridge to Aldford Village. There are still some remains of the earthworks and mounds of the castle, but no relics of the stones, which have probably been used in farm houses and buildings. At some of the houses in Aldford, among rockeries, very curious stones, carved and otherwise may be seen, some of which probably came from the ruins of the castle. The ford may still be seen at very low water.

Aldford brook rises with others in the Cheshire hills, and joins the Dee close by the village, where a picturesque bridge crosses it.

Our next point of interest is a bridge crossing the Dee joining the townships of Holt and Farndon. It is composed of ten arches with the vestiges of a guard-house in the middle. Just beyond the bridge, close to the river bank, are the ruins of Holt Castle, insulated by a vast fosse cut through a deep bed of soft sand-stone which seems to have been thus quarried for the building of the castle.

The fortress consisted of five bastions; and the work cut into that form to serve as a base to as many towers. An ancient survey in the British Museum, among the Harleian MSS. taken in 1620 by John Norden when it was entire, will give a true idea of this curious structure: it had been defended in three parts by the great chasm formed by the quarry, on the fourth side by the Dee, into which jutted a great quay still to be seen in very dry seasons, for it has long since been covered by the encroachment of the river. Originally, this place had been a small outpost to Deva; slopes and other now obsolete works may be seen near the castle and on the opposite side of the water. Coins have been found here, including those of Antoninus, Gallienus, Constantinus, and Constantius. The Roman name was "Castra Legionis," and the Welsh name "Castell Lleon," because it was garrisoned by a detachment of the legion stationed at Chester. This castle was besieged during the Civil Wars (1645).

Time will not permit more than the briefest reference to the many interesting features of the river. Bangor with its coracles, its very venerable bridge and church, demands a moment's attention, and deserves much more, for from here 1,200 monks marched to the assistance of their Christian brethren at Chester,

and were slain almost to a man by the Pagans of Northumbria, who afterwards destroyed their monastery. In the Church Tower is the following instruction for the ringers:—

"If that to ring you would come here,
You must ring well with hand and ear,
But if you ring in spur and hat,
Fourpence always is due for that.
But if a bell you overthrow,
Sixpence is due before you go.
But if you either swear or curse,
Twelvepence is due; pull out your purse.
Therefore the clerk must have his due.
If to our laws you do consent,
Then take a bell; we are content."

An almost identical effusion may be seen at Tattenhall, but with a significant variation:—

"But if you ring with spur or hat
A quart of ale must pay for that."

Overton Cemetery and Llangollen Bridge are enumerated among the seven wonders of Wales; but so wide a field is here opened out we dare not more than mention them.

We are told Owen Glendower took to wife the sister of an ancestor of Lord Hanmer, whose seat Bettisfield, lies not far from the Dee beyond Farndon, and whose verse may very fitly conclude this paper:—

"By the Elbe and through Rhineland
I've wandered far and wide,
And by the Save with silver tones,
Proud Danube's queenly bride;
By Arno's banks, and Tiber's shore,
But never did I see
A river I could match with thine,
Old Druid-haunted Dee."

Two Cheshire Soldiers of Fortune of the XIV. Century: Sir Hugh Calveley & Sir Robert Knolles

BY JOSEPH C. BRIDGE, M.A., D. Mus. (Oxon.), F.S.A.

Sir Hugh Calveley

(Read Tuesday, February 19th, 1907)

IN the great hundred years' war with France, Cheshire soldiers bore a very considerable and celebrated part. Our Cheshire archers not only helped to win such battles as Crecy and Poictiers, but were as much renowned for their strenuous loyalty as for their technical skill, for many of them at a later period formed the chosen body-guard of Richard II. Again, we cannot read the description of the battle of Poictiers without feeling proud of the four Cheshire Esquires who attended on Lord James Audley, viz.: Dutton of Dutton, Delves of Doddington, Fowlehurst or Fulshurst of Crewe, and Hawkeston of Wrinhill, who, with their chief, were in the very forefront of the whole battle. To them the Lord Audley passed on the pecuniary reward which the King bestowed on him for his services that day.

But Cheshire historians have done scant justice to the two great soldiers who form the subject of my papers. Sir Hugh Calveley has indeed attracted some

Scale - $\frac{1}{5068800}$ i.e. 1 inch = 80 miles

France, 14th Century

attention, due no doubt to his family connection and to the existence of his magnificent tomb in Bunbury Church, but Sir Robert Knolles seems almost unknown to Cheshire writers, and our greatest Cheshire historian *(Ormerod)* ignores him entirely. Yet I hope to show you that these two men were not only amongst the greatest and most successful fighters in the Edwardian wars, but that Sir Robert Knolles must be looked upon as the second greatest General that Cheshire has ever produced.

The lives of these two comrades-in-arms are so intermingled, and the deeds of bravery in which they both participated are so numerous, that it would seem almost impossible to write separate notices of them. However, I have tried to do so, but must be excused if the two somewhat intermingle, especially in the early and later parts of this lecture.[1]

Sir Hugh Calveley or de Calveley, was the eldest son of David de Calveley of Lea (the first Calveley of Lea), in the County of Chester, and Joanna his wife.[2] The date of his birth is not known, but must have been about 1315 or 1320.

First let us remark that the name was Calveley and not Calverley. There was no "r" in it, though it has been added by nearly every writer ancient and modern, and the name would most probably be pronounced "Cauveley," as "calf" in Cheshire and Shropshire dialect was, and still is, pronounced "cauf," and in a

[1] For this reason I have used the terms "*vide* Knolles" or "*vide* Calveley" to show where the readers of one paper may consult the other with advantage.

[2] *Ormerod's* "History of Cheshire" II. 764, where other particulars concerning the family may be found.

rare tract published in this City in 1647 the name is spelt "Caufley."[3]

Of his birthplace *Camden* says:—

"On the west side of the river Weaver stands Calveley, which has given both seat and name to that noble family the Calveleys, of whom, in Richard the Second's time, was Sir Hugh de Calveley, who in France had reputation of so valiant a soldier, that nothing was held impregnable to his courage and conduct."

We know nothing of his boyhood or early life, but *Fuller* in his "Worthies of England," says:—

"Tradition makes him a man of teeth and hands, who would feed as much as two and fight as much as ten men; his quick and strong appetite could digest anything but an injury, so that killing a man is reported the cause of his quitting this country, making hence for London, then for France."[4]

In 1344 Sir Thomas Dagworth was sent to Brittany with a hundred men-at-arms and two hundred archers to help the adherents of de Montfort. On August 3rd, 1345, a writ was issued from Westminster to all Sheriffs of Counties ordering them to proclaim that all barons, baronets, knights, and esquires, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, must prepare themselves to set out for Gascony and Brittany. In 1346 occurred the battle of Crecy, where Dagworth was in the third line of battle with the King. He then was at the siege of Calais, and on January 10th, 1347, was appointed Commander-in-chief in Brittany. He signalized his appointment by the siege of Roche d'Arian.[5] There, serving under him, we meet for the first time with

[3] See Vol. I., p. 122 of "Cheshire Archæological Journal," first series.

[4] I think this story extremely probable, for reasons that will appear hereafter.

[5] Ten miles north of Morlaix.

Hugh Calveley, Robert Knolles, and a certain Walter Hewett, who was for many years their trusted comrade and friend.[6] It is possible therefore that Calveley and Knolles were with Dagworth in 1344, and were present at Crecy, but we do not know this for certain.

Thomas of Otterbourne says :—[7]

"In which year of Grace (1347) Sir Thomas Dagworth, an English soldier, with 80 chosen men-at-arms, to wit Sir Robert Knolles, Sir Hugh de Calveley, Sir Walter Hewett, and other brave men and 400 archers, on the 12th of July overcame by siege the town of Durianum."

For his services in taking the town, and for his second victory there some months afterwards when he defeated Charles of Blois and made him prisoner, Dagworth was at the end of the year made a Baron, and fifty of his followers were knighted, and Calveley was probably amongst them. At all events we find him as a knight in $13\frac{50}{51}$, at the historic "Battle of the Thirty."[8]

I purpose describing this combat at some length, as it is little known at the present day, and our Cheshire soldiers had so glorious a part in it. We learn a good deal about it from a poem in French, written by some northern *trouvère*, which was found in the King's Library at Paris, and published in 1827.[9] It seems almost to

[6] I believe him to have been also a Cheshire man.

[7] I translate from *Hearne's* edition.

[8] The *Dictionary of National Biography* gives this as his first war service, but incorrectly.

[9] As the work of our Society covers North Wales, it is interesting for us to observe the similarity of style between this poem of *Le Combat des Trente* and some of our Welsh poems, especially the "Gododin." Like that, the Breton poem is divided into detached portions or stanzas of irregular lengths, and the same rhyme is continued for a considerable number of lines without any change. For example: of the commencing

have been written by an eye witness; and a faithful English translation may be found in *Harrison Ainsworth's* Poems.[10]

The causes which led to the combat were as follows. 1350 At the beginning of August 1350 Dagworth with many of his men was killed near the Castle of Auray, some say treacherously, by the French.[11] Amongst the places garrisoned by the British[12] was the Castle of Ploermel[13] in Brittany, and here, as elsewhere, Dagworth had sternly forbidden all pillage, and had protected the surrounding peasantry. "The death of Dagworth," says *Lobineau*,[14] "irritated

stanzas of the "Gododin," one contains nine lines all ending with the letters "ei," as

"Caeawc Cynhaiawc men y dehei";

the next contains the same number of lines ending in "wyt"; another contains seven lines ending in "an." So *Le Combat des Trente* commences with twelve lines ending in "ons," and in some instances the same rhyme is followed for thirty lines. Again, the Breton poem commences several stanzas with the words *Grande fu la bataille*, "Mighty was the conflict." So the "Gododin" commences stanzas with

"Gwyr a aeth Gattraeth gan wawr," &c.;

"The warriors went to Cattraeth with the dawn";

and

"Gwyr a aeth Gattraeth gan ddydd," &c.;

"Warriors went to Cattraeth with the day."

Altogether the poem is a distinct and interesting survival of bardic style and tradition, and must have been written by a Breton. See "Cambrian Quarterly Magazine," 1832, p. 45.

[10] Published by George Routledge & Co. A good translation of a *portion* of the poem is in the "Cambrian Quarterly Magazine," IV., 38; and also in "Edward III. and his Wars," from the series of "English History from Contemporary Writers," edited by W. J. Ashley.

[11] They were led by Raoul de Cahors, a renegade from the English side. It is difficult to arrive at the truth, but in any case the attack seems a violation of the truce which then existed.

[12] I say "British," as the garrison consisted mostly of Bretons and a few English.

[13] The "Plou" of St. Arthmael or Armel, who was born in Glamorgan, and went to Brittany.

[14] *Histoire de Bretagne.*

the English extremely, especially Sir Richard Bembro, the Captain of Ploermel. Not being able to punish the real authors of this action, they wreaked their vengeance on all that came into their hands, sparing neither merchants or labourers."

Although holding an important command, it is a strange thing that this English Captain has never been properly identified. He is called Bramber, Brember, Bembro, and Brandenbourg, by various writers. *Ormerod*, our County historian, and some other English authorities think he was Sir Richard Greenacre of Merley, a Lancastrian knight, but their authority is simply the fact that he was (some years later) Governor of the place. But it cannot for one moment be supposed that contemporary historians of the fight did not get the name fairly correctly. They would never have substituted Bramber for Merley. The Franco-Breton poem calls him *Bomebourc*, and in a traditional Breton ballad printed by Villemarquè he is called *La tête de blairau* or *Badgerhead.*

Now this undoubtedly points to *Pembroke* as the right name, for *Penn* = head and *broc* = badger in the Breton language, but caution is necessary before accepting this authority. He could not however have been the Earl of Pembroke, as the death of so important a personage would have been a well-known historical fact, and I can find no other Pembroke fighting abroad at that time.

The writer of the article on *Calveley* in the *Dictionary of National Biography* suggests that he may have come from Bromborough in this County, "to which two at least of his knightly followers belonged," but this is mere surmise. I think he may have been

a Pembrugge or Pembridge of Salop. Sir Richard Pembridge of that County was in Gascony in 1346, but was certainly alive later than 1350. The trisyllable *Pembrugge* is much like Bemboro. But there is another clue in the curious fact, that we find "letters of protection" were issued to Thomas de Daggeworth on April 20th and Thomas de Bembre, *Clerk*, May 1st, 1347.[15] It is possible therefore that the two went out together, and the latter assumed temporary command on the death of his leader. A warlike ecclesiastic was no rarity. A Robert Brambre (said to be a brother or cousin) was, later on, captain of Fougeray.

With Bembro was a very celebrated adventurer named Croquart, who, from a page, had become the chosen leader of a large body of mercenaries, and was considered the most expert man-at-arms of the day. Under these leaders the garrison began to pillage and rob the surrounding country, and to make prisoners of the wretched peasants.

A few miles away was the Chateau or Castle of Josselin, where the forces of Charles de Blois were commanded by a Breton Knight named de Beaumanoir. Greatly incensed by the ravages of the English, and by the tales of woe and suffering which every day were being brought to his notice, he at last determined to go to Ploermel, and remonstrate with the English Captain in person. He did so, and pointed out in forcible language the great wrong done in oppressing the poor sowers of corn and planters of vineyards, and added that if the peasants were thus taken away from the fields there would be none to cultivate them, and knights like himself would have to become hus-

[15] See the "William Salt Collections" XVIII., 120.

Chateau of Josselin, Brittany

bandmen in order to find food for the men and forage for the horses. But Bembro is said to have met all remonstrances in a very haughty and unbending manner, and to have concluded with saying: -"Beaumanoir, be silent, speak no more. Montfort shall be Duke of this noble Duchy . . Edward shall be King of France in spite of the French and their allies," and Beaumanoir answered with great humility, "Conceive another idea, this was ill-imagined, for by such a road you can never proceed half a foot." He is then said to have proposed a tournament of three armed with spears to decide the question, but finally it was agreed by the two leaders to decide the question by mortal combat of thirty on each side.

Bembro had scarcely any Englishmen to depend on. His force consisted of six Knights, viz.:—

Robert Knolles [16]	Richard de la Lande [17]
Hervé de Lexualen	Thommelin Belifort [18]
Hue de Caverlay	Thommelin Hualton [19]

of whom four were English.

He had nine Esquires, of whom one was English, Jean Plesanton, otherwise John Plessington.[20] Of the fifteen men-at-arms two were English, viz.: Dagworth (a nephew of Sir Thomas) and Troussel, otherwise John Russell or Trussel. The English in all therefore were seven.[21]

[16] *Vide* Knolles. The names are thus given in the French Poem.

[17] Of Askby or Ashby in Lincolnshire. A Walter de la Lande was at Cressy with the King. He was probably a brother.

[18] He fought with an iron mace weighing twenty-five pounds.

[19] Sir Thomas Walton. Knighted in 1347.

[20] A Lancashire man.

[21] The French poet says: "Twenty were English, bold as lions, six were Germans, and four Brabantians." Here Bretons and English are classed together.

De Beaumanoir chose his men with much care, and warned them that they had to deal with opponents of great valour, and that they must exert themselves to the utmost.

Bembro addressed his soldiers also, saying that he had caused the books of Merlin[22] to be consulted, and that they assured him of success. Then marching to the ground, he is said by some writers to have suddenly proposed a parley and postponement of the combat, on the ground that they ought first to have had the permission of their respective sovereigns.[23]

De Beaumanoir indignantly rejected the idea. "Half-way between Josselin and the Castle of Ploermel, on an exceedingly pleasant plain, at the oak of Mi-voie, by a field of broom," the two companies were drawn up facing one another. They were to fight on foot, and seem to have had a very heterogeneous collection of arms.

[24] "Now the heralds sounded, and both parties rushed forward eager for the fray. At the first shock the Franco-Bretons were checked, they lost a man killed and another captured. Several were severely wounded. Far from losing heart, they fought on desperately, and such a cloud of dust arose that the combatants could not be distinguished by the spectators. After awhile, by mutual consent, both sides drew off to recover breath and estimate their losses.

"'Sir,' said a squire to Beaumanoir, 'I think were I a knight it would nerve my arm to fight better.'

"'Kneel, then,' said the Franco-Breton Commander, and he knighted him on the field.

[22] This of course was for the benefit of the Bretons.

[23] Because of the truce then existing, though it really did not apply to Brittany.

[24] I take this admirable little epitome of the fray from the *Rev. S. Baring-Gould's* "Book of Brittany," p. 264.

"Hardly was this episode ended before the Anglo-Bretons came on, and Bramber, rushing upon De Beaumanoir and grasping him by the arm, cried, 'Robert, surrender, and I will not kill thee, but present thee this evening to my sweetheart.'

"'It is I,' returned Beaumanoir, 'who intend offering thee to my lady.'

"Two of the French ran up; one with his lance transfixed Bramber, and the other hewed him down with his sword. Taking advantage of the confusion caused by the fall of the Captain, the Franco-Breton prisoners made their escape, and killed Dagworth and two Flemish mercenaries.

"Calverley and Knolles avenged their chief by wounding De Beaumanoir. The marshal, overcome by the heat and by fatigue, retreated, and called for water.

"'Drink thy blood, Beaumanoir,'[25] replied a voice from the French ranks. The marshal recovering his vigour rushed again upon the English. But these presented an insuperable wall of steel, till Guillaume de Montauban, running to his horse, mounted it. 'Shame on thee Squire'! shouted Beaumanoir, thinking the man meditated flight.

"'Hold to thy duty and I will hold to mine'! retorted Montauban. Then thundering down on the English rank, he broke it, made his horse plunge right and left, and brought confusion into the line. The French, profiting by this stratagem, followed, and the victory was theirs.

"The Franco-Bretons had lost five killed, the Anglo-Bretons nine. Of those that remained not one but was grievously wounded.[26]

"French writers maintain that the act of Montauban was not a contravention of the terms agreed on before the combat; but to all appearance it was so."

[25] Hence the family motto "Beaumanoir, bois ton sang."

[26] According to the traditional Breton Ballad only six of the English side survived.

Amongst the survivors were Croquart, Billefort, Calveley, and Knolles. They were taken to the Castle of Josselin and, when cured of their wounds, were each ransomed for one hundred pieces of gold.

Such was the battle of the Thirty. Two curious facts connect with it. First, no English writer or soldier seems to have protested against the treachery of Montauban in riding the English down—for treachery it certainly seems to be. Secondly, the MSS. of *Froissart* are absolutely silent as regards the battle, except one which was found by M. Buchon in the library of the Prince de Soubise, and published in 1824.[27] This MS. says "There was not one amongst them who was not grievously wounded. Some time since I saw . . a Breton Knight, who had been present at the conflict, Yves Charruel; his visage was so gashed and hacked that it showed plainly enough that the affair had been well fought."

Long afterwards it was customary to say that people fought "as they fought at the battle of the thirty," and to this day the Bretons commemorate it in an old ballad sung to a very spirited tune.[28]

For many years a solitary oak marked the site of the battle. This was cut down by the League. A Stone Cross was then erected. This also was thrown down in 1775, but the States of Brittany restored it and placed

[27] *Froissart* was, of course, only a boy when the affair took place; but one would suppose that so curious an historian would have scoured Europe to obtain particulars of so unique an event as this, when writing his history. He is sometimes accused of favouring the English in his narrative, and his suppression of this battle seems to support the indictment.

[28] See Appendix.

Old Cross commemorating the "Battle of the Thirty"

an inscription on it, and a writer[29] in "Archæologia" thus describes it as he saw it in 1781:—

"The cross and pedestal were of grey granite . . . the inscription is on the face of the pedestal opposed to the south . . . a literal translation runs as follows: 'To the perpetual memory of the battle of the thirty that my Lord Mareschal of Beaumanoir gained in this place the year 1350.' The whole is near seven feet high, but little defaced by time."

This was destroyed in the Revolution of 1793. In 1819 a fresh memorial was erected by the public authorities of the district. The foundation stone was laid by the military Commandant, and descendants of three of the Breton Combatants were present. It consists of a granite obelisk fifteen mêtres high, and occupies the centre of a plantation of pines and cypresses. On the eastern front is—

"Sous le regne de Louis XVIII.
Roi de France and de Navarre
Le Conseil General du Departement du Morbihan a élevé ce Monument à la gloire des XXX Bretons."

The west front has the same inscription in Celtic. The south has the names of the Combatants, and the north the date of the Combat (March 27th, 1351). Near by is the stone restored in 1775 by the States of Brittany.

For the next few years Calveley was engaged in the disastrous guerilla warfare in Brittany, which, though devastating the country, brought no advantage to either side.

In 1354 when stationed at Becherel, Sir Hugh heard that a grand fête was to be given to Du Guesclin and others at the Chateau of Montmuran, and determined to

[29] Mons. D'Auvergne. See "Archæologia," Vol. VI., p. 145.

attack the French on their way thither. Unfortunately du Guesclin got wind of the attempt, and stationed an ambuscade of thirty archers, and the English fell into the trap. Calveley charged with great impetuosity, but was finally beaten down by Enguerrand de Hesdin, a French gentleman, and captured.[30] But Sir Hugh soon had his revenge, as we shall see.

Then came the battle of Poictiers, but we have no particulars as to Calveley's share in it.[31] The patched up peace after the battle gave a great impetus to the "Companies," and Calveley transferred his sword to the King of Navarre, who had declared war on France, and had made his head-quarters at Melun-on-Seine. Here, early in 1359, we find Sir Hugh Calveley and Sir James Pipe in supreme command.

1356

Under their charge were no less than three Queens, two being Queen Dowagers of France and the other the Queen of Navarre. Being besieged by the French these ladies were much terrified, and besought Sir Hugh that they might be "rid of that trouble, whatever it should cost the King their Kinsman." However, the two knights made a bold defence, and comforted the ladies with assurances that help would be forthcoming to raise the siege; and finally a temporary truce put an end to all danger, and to Sir Hugh's responsibility.

The young Queen of Navarre was barely sixteen years old; Blanche, the Queen Dowager, was in the height of her beauty; and her sister, who was also at the

[30] It is worth noting that for his bravery at this action Bertrand du Guesclin received the honour of Knighthood.

[31] His name does not figure amongst the Cheshire recipients of rewards for services in this battle. *Vide* Knolles.

Chateau, was considered one of the prettiest girls in France, so that one is not surprised to find that "many skirmishes and bold feats of arms were performed by the young chevaliers before the Chateau of Mèlun, under the eyes of the Queens and their ladies imprisoned within the walls."[32]

1360 About the end of the year or the beginning of 1361, Bertrand du Guesclin, accompanied by Guillaume de Craon and a large force, had wrested several towns from the "Companies," and was passing the Sarthe en route to le Bas-Maine, when he stumbled into an ambuscade set by Sir Hugh Calveley at Juigné-sur-Sarthe. The French numbered fourteen hundred, and at first got the upper hand, but were then taken in the rear by the English archers. At this critical moment Guillaume de Craon and some eighty men-at-arms left the field, and Du Guesclin after a gallant fight, in which three hundred of his men were killed or taken, was compelled to give up his sword to Sir Hugh, and became his prisoner. It was just a year ago that he had, in like manner, to surrender to Sir Robert Knolles. Calveley exacted the enormous ransom of thirty thousand écus, which was paid by the end of October.[33]

1362 Sir Hugh is named with Peter of Bunbury and others in a warrant for pardon for felonies committed at Chester. This pardon had already been commanded as far back as January 18th, 1353. Now what

[32] "The Early Valois Queens," *Bearne*, p. 254; and "Chronique des quatre premiers Valois." *Luce* says the principal Commanders there were "Martin Enriquez and the terrible Bascon de Mareuil." No doubt they were in the garrison, but the Englishmen seem to have been in supreme command.

[33] *Luce*, on authority of Bertrand d'Argentre, *Histoire de Bretagne*, p. 417.

could these felonies be? It seems most probable the principal one was the murder for which he fled the country. Although by his voluntary expatriation and services he had purged his offence to some extent, yet it might be very awkward for him, if the Sheriff still held a writ for his apprehension, and it would effectually prevent him from visiting Cheshire. We can understand his anxiety therefore about the pardon, which it took nine years to obtain.[34]

By the peace of Bretigny war was so absolutely ended between France and England that now, more than ever, soldiers and leaders were compelled to take to questionable methods of livelihood. From those soldiers who returned homeward "arose swarms of thieves and highwaymen in several parts of England," while those who remained in France joined the "Companies" which had been formed[35] by Sir Hugh Calveley, Sir Robert Knolles, Sir John Hawkwood, and others. The latter with his "White Company" ravaged Lombardy, while another known as "the Great Company" achieved many victories and took many prisoners, and must be spoken of later.[36] Calveley and Knolles again took service with Sir John Chandos under the standard of de Montfort in Brittany.

[34] In a similar manner Lord Clifford, who had murdered Sir John Copland, fled the country for fifteen years, and then obtained pardon from King Edward III., at the request of Parliament, on account "of his special services in the wars in France." See also the many pardons for felonies, &c., granted to Cheshire men who had distinguished themselves at Poictiers, quoted in the *Cheshire Sheaf*, Vol. II. (1st Series), p. 40.

[35] See Sir Conan Doyle's admirable historical romance of "The White Company"; and also his later work "Sir Nigel."

[36] 1362. "Quo etiam anno, Magna Societas, quæ prævaluerat in Francia et excreverat, commisit bellum cum Francis, et vicit, plures nobiles captivando et multa fortalitia capiendo." *Walsingham*, I., 296.

They pursued a very independent course of their own, and on January 18th, 1363, Edward III. issued an order to Sir Hugh Calveley and Sir James Pipe, ordering them to give up the places due to King John by the treaty of Bretigny.

Early in 1364 we find Sir Hugh in command at Le Pont d'Onne with a large force, and besieged by Bertrand du Guesclin. Several assaults were repulsed with great loss. Then Bertrand tried a mine, but the English found it out and countermined,[37] and at last they met. Du Guesclin however effected a lodgement, and Sir Hugh and the Navarrois were taken prisoners, and the Normans beheaded.[38]

Sir Hugh must soon have paid his ransom, for later in that year he was in the great battle of Auray. The French troops were under du Guesclin and the English under Sir John Chandos. Says *Froissart*:—

"The latter formed three battalions and a rear-guard. He placed over the first Sir Robert Knolles, Sir Walter Huet, and Sir Richard Burley. The second battalion was under the command of Sir Oliver de Clisson, Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, and Sir Matthew Gournay. The Earl of Montfort had the third, which was to remain near his person. There were in each battalion five hundred men-at-arms, and four hundred archers. When he came to the rear-guard, he called Sir Hugh Calveley to him, and said: 'Sir Hugh, you

1364

[37] It is said it was discovered by a glass of water placed on a parapet, being upset several times without any apparent cause. The soldiers put their ears to the ground and heard the tremors caused by the sap.

[38] Du Guesclin considered the latter as traitors to the French King, whilst the English and Navarrois owed fealty only to their respective Sovereigns.

will take the command of the rear-guard of five hundred men, and keep on our wing, without moving one step, whatever may happen, unless you shall see an absolute necessity for it; such as our battalions giving way, or being by accident broken: in that case, you will hasten to succour those who are giving way, or who may be in disorder: and assure yourself, you cannot this day do a more meritorious service.'

"When Sir Hugh heard Sir John Chandos give him these orders, he was much hurt and angry with him, and said: 'Sir John, Sir John, give the command of this rear-guard to some other; for I do not wish to be troubled with it'; and then added, 'Sir Knight, for what manner of reason have you thus provided for me? and why am I not as fit and proper to take my post in the front rank as others'? Sir John discreetly answered: 'Sir Hugh, I did not place you with the rear-guard because you were not as good a knight as any of us; for, in truth, I know that you are equally valiant with the best; but I ordered you to that post because I know that you are both bold and prudent, and that it is absolutely necessary for you or me to take that command. I therefore most earnestly entreat it of you; for if you will do so, we shall be the better for it; and you yourself will acquire great honour: in addition, I promise to comply with the first request you may make me.' Notwithstanding this handsome speech of Sir John Chandos, Sir Hugh refused to comply, considering it as a great affront offered him, and entreated, through the love of God, with uplifted hands, that he would order some other to that command; for, in fact, he was anxious to enter the battle with the first. This conduct nearly brought tears to the eyes of Sir John. He again addressed him,

gently saying: 'Sir Hugh, it is absolutely necessary that either you or I take this command: now, consider which can be most spared.' Sir Hugh, having considered this last speech, was much confused, and replied: 'Certainly, Sir, I know full well that you would ask nothing from me which could turn out to my dishonour; and, since it is so, I will very cheerfully undertake it.' Sir Hugh Calveley then took the command of the battalion called the rear-guard, entered the field in the rear, on the wing of the others, and formed his line."

Sir Hugh not only did this, but adopted an expedient which at that time was novel and unusual. He ordered his men to discard their thigh-pieces, so that they might get about with greater celerity.

Well was it for the English that Sir Hugh did so, for four times at least in the course of the day he was called upon to restore the fortunes of the English side, and he greatly contributed to the "crowning victory" they obtained.[39]

Charles of Blois was slain, and after the battle Sir John Chandos, Sir Hugh Calveley, and Sir Robert Knolles, waited upon the Earl of Montfort and personally congratulated him on having "conquered the

[39] "Tactically the victory of Auray was decided by the fact that Chandos used his reserve—200 lances under Sir Hugh Calveley—to strengthen weak points in his line one after another, never allowing it to become so entangled that it could not be withdrawn for service in another part of the field . . . . . It is perhaps worth noting that Calveley made his two hundred men-at-arms strip off their cuissarts (thigh-pieces) to allow them to move about more easily . . . without this expedient his reserve would not have been movable enough for use at each point of the line, as it was in danger of successively being broken through." *Oman*, "History of the Art of War—The Middle Ages," p. 636.

inheritance of Brittany" and brought the war of twenty-five years to a close.[40]

The battle of Auray left no pretext by which France and England could make war on one another, and soldiers of fortune like Calveley had now, more than ever, to depend upon pillage in order to keep their troops together, and to find them occupation. The "Great Company," whose leaders were mostly English or Gascon subjects of the King, was quartered in the best provinces of France, which they called their "Chambres." As we have seen, they defeated Royal troops sent against them, and their ravages became so great as time went on, that the French King at one time sought the aid of Edward to get rid of them, but drew back, fearing Edward might turn the position of affairs to his own advantage.[41]

The Pope tried to get them to go to the Holy Land, but the "Companies" declined. Ultimately the French King hit upon the plan of sending them to fight against Pedro the Cruel of Spain, who for his wickedness had been excommunicated by the Pope, and was now being attacked by Henry the Bastard, or Henry of Trastamare as he is sometimes called. Bertrand du Guesclin was specially ransomed[42] that he might be in command,

[40] Sir Hugh took as prisoner L'abbé de Redon and put him to ransom. It is probable that both he and Knolles made a great deal of money out of this victory, for we find Lord Ralph Neville equipping and maintaining thirty lances at his own expense out of his gains at this battle (Froissart). The Free Companies were very "hard up" at this period and eagerly welcomed the conflict for the chance of obtaining booty, and ransoms would probably run rather "high."

[41] As early as November 1361 and as late as November 1370 King Edward issued edicts against these Companies. He denounced the "Navarrois" to the French King as "robbers," but it seems probable that he was not always sincere, and in any case his threats were futile. See *Rymer* for edicts of the above dates.

[42] He had been a prisoner since Auray.

and under a safe conduct, he visited the "Companies" to lay the project before them. Sir Hugh Calveley met him with an escort of cavalry, and the whole matter was satisfactorily arranged, after a wily speech by du Guesclin. There seems to have been some pretence made that the expedition was a kind of Crusade against the Saracens in Spain; but this deceived no one, least of all Pedro the Cruel.[43] Calveley and twenty-five of the principal leaders accompanied du Guesclin back to Paris, and were received by the King, who gave them letters of credit payable at Lyons, and the expedition soon started.

We must note, however, that Sir Hugh stipulated that he would only serve so long as his sword was not required by England, for he said emphatically that he was "liegeman to the Prince of Wales." King Edward got wind of the expedition, and on December 3rd, 1365, issued an edict[44] addressed to Sir John Chandos, Sir Hugh Calveley, Sir Nicholas Dagworth, and Sir William Elmham, in which he said he heard that "they were going to Spain to fight against his friend the King of Castile," and he therefore strictly forbade them to take any part whatever in the expedition. Chandos had already refused to join, and remained with the Prince of Wales in Gascony, but Calveley and the rest went on. Possibly they were well over the Pyrenees before they received the message, or, like Lord Nelson, found it convenient to have "a blind eye" for the signal of recall.

[43] They so far kept up this pretence by wearing a white cross when they reached the borders of Aragon, and calling themselves "La Blanche Compagnie," no doubt with a view to secure a safe passage and help from the King of Aragon.

[44] *Rymer*. Knolles did not go.

After levying a heavy subsidy from the Pope the "White Company" crossed the Pyrenees and entered Aragon, where they proved more ungovernable than they had been in France, and such was the terror they inspired that nothing was denied them. The subjects of the King of Aragon applied to the French and English Captains when they desired to obtain favours from their Sovereign, and the recommendations of these chiefs, though probably interested, were always graciously received.[45]

In March Sir Hugh commenced hostilities by attacking Bòrja, a town of Aragon, which had been occupied for some time past by the Castilians. It made no resistance, and town after town opened its gates to Henry and seemed delighted to throw off the yoke of Pedro, and at length Henry was crowned King of Castile at Calahorra, the Crown being solemnly tendered by du Guesclin on the part of the French and Sir Hugh as representative of the English, in company with the Castilians.

1366

Pedro now sent messengers offering to share the Kingdom with Henry, and to pay a million *doubles d'or* to du Guesclin and his troops when they quitted the country.

The English were invited to give their opinion, and chose Sir Hugh as their spokesman who said "he thought the offers were good, and that for their part they would gladly take the half of the million *doubles* and cease the warfare." Du Guesclin and the French

[45] Mérimée in his "History of Pedro the Cruel," Bk. II., p. 190, quotes the following from the Aragonese archives "Privileges granted to Maestre Roberto de Estanten, burgher of Zaragoza, at the instance of Messire Hugh de Calverley, Zaragoza, 1st of March, 1366."

party would not hear of such a compromise, and the war went on.

Few of the towns made any show of resistance to Henry. Seville however made so stubborn a defence that the Prince somewhat lost patience, and at the end of three months addressed the troops, saying that their valour "did not seem to be the same as that which had conquered so many places." Stung by this, the English, under Sir Hugh, made superhuman efforts, and after six hours' hard fighting took the Jewish quarter, and Sir Hugh's standard floated from one of the towers; seeing this, du Guesclin and his troops redoubled their efforts and gained a footing on the walls, and the town was won.[46]

Henry now found himself master of Castile, and formed the project of conquering Granada by the same "Free Companies," and paid great attention to Sir Hugh and other captains who might be useful. Valuable lands and titles were showered upon them, even the titles of Conde and Marques, which hitherto had been reserved for Royalty.[47] Sir Hugh Calveley was created Conde de Carrion, and received as his share of the spoil the County of Carrion, that county being, in his favour, converted into an hereditary feud.[48]

[46] "Bertrand du Guesclin d'après Guyard de Berville," Tours 1889, p. 115. Most writers state that Seville at once opened its gates to Henry. It is certain, however, that he remained here some months, and it is possible that some inner citadel held out against him. This is rendered more probable by the fact that the Jews' quarter, according to the custom of the age, was separated from the rest of a town by a strong wall, and consequently formed an inner fortification.

[47] The prodigality of the new King gave rise to a proverbial expression in Spain, "Don Enrique's favours" being used to describe those gifts which are obtained before they are earned.

[48] Until then it had only been granted for life to the Gonzalez family, better known as the Infantes de Carrion. "History of Pedro the Cruel," by *Prosper Mérimée*, II., 202.

Meanwhile Pedro fled to Bordeaux, and sought help from the Prince of Wales, who, finally and most foolishly, espoused his cause and prepared to invade Castile.

He at once sent to Sir Hugh and the Commanders of the Companies and ordered them to return from Spain and to rendezvous at Auch, and they prepared to do so,[49] but this was no easy matter. Their troops had a bad name, and Henry was incensed at their departure. He thanked them for their services and said that "while he quite admitted they were right in obeying the recall, he did not think it fair and right that they should return and make war on him, seeing that they had been his liege men and had been well paid and rewarded by gifts of lands and chateaux." Sir Hugh coldly responded that "whatever they might do, they would keep their honour safe," but he offered to become the bearer of terms of accommodation to the Prince of Wales.

Though Henry is said to have secretly asked the King of Aragon to close his passes to the English, it did not deter their departure. They crossed by other routes, though 3000 of them were attacked by the Seneschal of Toulouse on their way to Montauban.

They defeated him however, and made their way to the Prince, who quartered them at Bascle amongst the mountains.

[49] This is generally stated as a fact to their credit, but I think they had no choice. The King's previous letter and the Prince's summons were too strong to be put on one side. Of course Calveley had only consented to fight under du Guesclin so long as his sword was not wanted by the English, and he was strictly within his right in thus changing sides.

1367 The Prince in February had moved with all his troops from Bordeaux and anxiously awaited permission from the King of Navarre to pass through his dominions. The King was reported to be playing a double game, but Sir Hugh (who had just joined the Prince) soon brought him to his senses. He went up country with his troops and took the towns of La Puente de Reyna and Miranda, and the King speedily made a definite treaty with the English and gave them permission to pass through his dominions.

Being the month of February the weather was very cold, and it was decided to pass the Pyrenees in three divisions on three separate days. The vanguard under the Duke of Lancaster marched on the Monday, the main body under the Prince of Wales on the Tuesday, and the rear guard under the King of Majorca on the Wednesday; with the latter was Sir Robert Knolles, Sir Hugh Calveley, and the rest of the "Companies," and having encamped at Pampeluna these "Companies" began to pillage the country, and so incensed the King of Navarre that he bitterly regretted having so far favoured the English side.

Sir William Felton, accompanied by Sir Robert Knolles, one hundred and sixty lances and three hundred archers, pushed forward five days in advance to reconnoitre. They crossed the Ebro and took up their quarters at the village of Navaretta, from whence they made excursions, and on one occasion had a sharp fight with the Spanish advance guard, losing several men.

The Prince of Wales now advanced to Vittoria, and Felton with Knolles and the rest of his Company joined the main body there. Felton left it that evening and

pushed forward again to beat up the enemy, but Sir Robert Knolles, luckily for himself, seems to have remained behind. Meanwhile King Henry's brother determined on the same line of action, and collecting 6000 horsemen, advanced towards the English quarters, and about sunrise met, in a valley, part of Sir Hugh Calveley's Company with his baggage, as Sir Hugh had slept that night about a league from the main body. The Spanish and French captured the baggage and slew most of the guard, and nearly took Sir Hugh. He did his best to rally his troops, but was forced to fly, and retired on the main body of the Duke of Lancaster. The Spanish pushed on, beat up the quarters of the Duke of Lancaster, but finding him in a strong position, they also retired on their main body, and on the way met Sir William Felton and about two hundred knights, and by dint of weight of numbers they slew or captured the whole of the English party, excepting a few boys.[50]

1367 On April 3rd followed the great battle of Navaretta or Najera, in which the Prince of Wales thoroughly defeated the forces of Henry, and Pedro the Cruel once more sat on the throne of Castile. Sir Hugh greatly distinguished himself on this occasion, and received from Pedro the confirma-

[50] In 1813 British troops once more fought over this historic spot in connection with the battle of Vittoria. *Sir William Napier* in his "History of the Peninsular War" says "The hill thus carried was called 'the Englishmen's Hill,' not, as some recent writers have supposed, in commemoration of a victory gained by the Black Prince, but because of a disaster which there befell a part of his army. His battle was fought between Navarette and Najera, many leagues from Vittoria, and beyond the Ebro; but on this hill the two gallant knights, Sir Thomas and Sir William Felton took post with two hundred companions, and being surrounded by Don Tello with six thousand, all died or were taken after a long, desperate, and heroic resistance."

tion of the grant of the county of Carrion, which had been given to him by Henry.

A little later Sir Hugh, accompanied by a Castilian noble, was sent to Pedro IV. King of Aragon to demand the extradition or banishment of the wife and other relatives of Henry the Bastard, offering in return the friendship and alliance of the Conqueror.

The Prince of Wales now fixed his headquarters at Valladolid, and waited for some months for King Pedro to return from Seville, with the money for the troops which he had promised. But neither King nor money came, and the Prince and soldiers suffered severely for want of provisions. Thoroughly disgusted, the Prince determined on returning to Gascony, and did so, leaving some 6000 of the Companies behind him under Sir Hugh[51] to collect arrears of pay, and also to see to the King of Minorca, who being ill could not travel.

But time went on; the Prince of Wales was busy with dissensions in Gascony; the Bastard got together more troops; Bertrand du Guesclin (having paid his ransom of £10,000) joined him, and once more Pedro the Cruel found himself obliged to fight. He began his march against the Bastard, and suffered a severe defeat on March 14th, and met with his death a few days afterwards.

It is difficult to trace events at this period, and to know what had become of Sir Hugh, but it seems probable that he had left Spain before the second campaign commenced, and that the Prince of Wales had thus withdrawn him, being determined that Pedro

[51] *Barnes*, "History of Edward III.," 723. *Froissart* and others do not mention this, and describe the Prince as retiring with his whole army.

should have no further help from the English. This is borne out by the following anecdote.

Bertrand du Guesclin had been kept at Bordeaux as a prisoner of the Prince of Wales since Navaretta, and many of the English knights disapproved of his continued captivity. He is said finally to have fixed his own ransom by the request of the Prince of Wales, and proudly named the large sum of sixty thousand "doubles d'or." Sir John Chandos at once promised him 10,000 francs, and Calveley went to him and said: "Sir Bertrand, we have long been comrades together, thanks to you, and I am much obliged to you for it. I know very well that you have been very liberal, and are now put to great expense. Know then, that to pay for your ransom, I shall give you 10,000 francs. They are yours and not mine, and I shall still have more for you." And then, says the chronicler, "Bertrand and Calveley took leave of each other, and *se donnèrent l'accolade*,[52] and embraced one another, for they loved each other marvellously"; and so ended one of the most chivalrous acts of the most chivalrous age.[53]

1369 The Franco-English wars having broken out afresh, the Prince of Wales sent Sir Hugh (who had travelled down through Aragon, Foix, and Bigorre, and joined him at Angoulème) to ravage

[52] It is very curious to think of these two men knighting one another.

[53] I take this from "Le Roman de Sire B. du Guesclin," p. 200. It is almost contemporary, and written with a strong anti-English bias, and therefore the writer is not likely to have invented a story so eminently favourable to the English Knights. If this be true, it is obvious that Sir Hugh must have returned to Bordeaux before du Guesclin left to collect his ransom, and to lead the troops against Pedro for the second time. *Lobineau* says that Chandos gave 10,000 doubles, the Princess of Wales (who had come to Angoulème expressly to see du Guesclin) gave 10,000, and that Calveley gave 30,000, and escorted du Guesclin to the frontiers of Bordeaux.

Armagnac with 2000 men. Returning from this excursion, he joined the Earl of Pembroke and went to Anjou, where they pillaged and plundered as far as Saumur. Sir Hugh gained great credit by capturing the bridge at Pont de Cé on the Loire, which he fortified and held for some time.

He was now Seneschal of Limousin, and had a good deal to do in repelling the attacks of the Duke of Anjou. He personally remained about Saumur on the Loire, and here Sir Robert Knolles[54] sent to him asking for his assistance, as some of his troops were in a state of mutiny. Sir Hugh set off with 300 men-at-arms, but arrived only to find that Knolles had retired to Derval and that Sir John Minsterworth and the other malcontents had been defeated. Sir Hugh therefore retired again to his quarters without attempting a combat.

1370

Sir Hugh accompanied the great expedition under the Duke of Lancaster to Brittany and marched through France to Bordeaux. The Duke lost many knights in ambuscades[55] and various skirmishes. In one of these some eighty men of Sir Hugh's troop were killed and captured, but Sir Hugh was not with them at the time. After a long and dangerous march, which accomplished nothing, the army arrived at Bordeaux about Christmas and wintered there until the

1373

[54] *Vide* "Knolles."

[55] In one of these Sir Walter Hewett was killed, Sept. 20th, 1373. He rushed to the fray without stopping to put on his helmet and was pierced through the neck by a spear. He had been the great friend and comrade of Calveley and Knolles for five and twenty years and, as a reward for his services, had been made Governor of the Channel Islands in 1371. I have little doubt that he was a Cheshire man. The name is common in the County and City.

spring of 1374, when a truce was patched up and the army on July 8th sailed for England. The English lost some 30,000 horses and thousands of men by starvation in this campaign, which was one of the most foolish and useless of all the campaigns in this war.

On October 18th he was made Governor of Calais, and he took steps to strengthen the fortifications by mounting cannon.[56] Owing to the truce which existed he seems to have returned to England, while Sir Thomas Fogg of Chester[57] acted as Governor for a time in his place. In 1377 Sir Hugh returned as Governor.

1375
1376
1377

[56] They were coming into use, and Dover was thus fortified later. In the "Issue Rolls," May 1st, 1385, we find: "To Sir Simon de Burley, Knight, Constable of Dover Castle, for the price of 12 guns, 2 iron patella, 120 stones for the guns, 100lbs. of powder, and 4 stocks of wood, purchased of William the founder of London . . . £97 10s." (See "The Bells of England," by *Canon Raven*, p. 142).

[57] Sir Thomas Fogg of Chester.—We have here a soldier of fortune quite unknown, I think, to Cheshire historians. He seems to have been a follower of Sir Robert Knolles, and was knighted at the taking of Auxerre in 1359. He was captain of Auvilliers in 1358, and acquired, as most "Company" Captains did, other small fortified places and held them to ransom. By the treaty of Bretigny Sir Thomas Fogg and Thomas Cann were to see to the evacuation of Chateauneuf-en-Thymerais, Ferté-Villeneuil, and Nogent-le-Rotron, all in the Eure-et-Loire. By the same treaty Domfront, le Bois de Maine, Messei, Condé-sur-Sarthe, and the tower of Villiers, occupied by the Duke of Lancaster early in 1356, were to be evacuated; but Louis de Harcourt, Thomas Dugdale, Thomas Fogg, and Robert Ruffin, acting in the name of the Duke of Lancaster, refused to give them up without a payment of 20,000 écus d'or, in virtue of an arrangement concluded between Louis de Harcourt and Sir John Chandos. Twenty-four nobles guaranteed the payment by the Duke and the towns were then evacuated. Altogether, Fogg seems to have been an obstreperous Company leader, and, as *Luce* says, must have been much obliged to du Guesclin for defeating Sir William Windsor, who had been sent over as the King's deputy to bring Fogg and the rest to order. He was doubtless a personal friend of Sir Hugh; and in 1376 he became, as already stated, Governor of Calais, his commission being dated December 2nd, 1376, "for a year or more." Amongst the charges brought against William of Wykeham Bishop of Winchester, in 1377, was the following:—"*Item*, Contrary to

1377 The French suddenly attacked the fortress of Outwick near Calais, and the Governor, William Weston, frightened by the novelty of the cannon they used, evacuated the place and retired on Calais, but Sir Hugh promptly arrested him and sent him to England for trial. He had no sympathy with men of this description. Shortly after, the French galleys attacked some of the Duke of Brittany's men who were crossing to Dover, and in sight of Calais killed nearly all. Sir Hugh was mad at this mishap and at once raided the country round, "slew many men, took the Castle of Outwick, and returned safe with great booty of Artillery and Cattle." As the Chronicler says "he slept not on his business," but with a small fleet made a sudden attack on Boulogne, seized six and twenty vessels "of no small accompte" and set them on fire, and occupied the lower part of the town. In order to show that he was in no hurry, he bade his chaplain celebrate Mass, which he heard through to the end. He then plundered the town and retired to Calais with some prisoners and a huge drove of sheep and cattle which fed his soldiers for many a day.

1377 Hard by was the Castle of Marke, and the Governor, Sir Robert de Salle,[58] had crossed to England on private business, leaving a garrison of English

God by all reason, and ye lawes of ye realme, ye said Bishop put to ransome and procured to take a great somme of gould and silver of Monsr. Mawe Gurney, Monsr. Thomas Fogges, Monsr. Jhon Scutlar, and Monsr. Robert del Eues and of many other capteyns who had nobly travailed in ye King's warres against his enemies" ("Chronicon Angliæ," LXXV.) Fogg served in the "Crusade" campaign under the Bishop of Norwich in 1380, and I have been unable to trace him any further. He certainly deserves a niche in Cheshire history.

[58] A gallant soldier who, like Sir Robert Knolles, had risen from the ranks, for his father was a mason. He was taken by the rebels in Norfolk in the 1381 rebellion and, reviling his captors in no measured terms, was set upon and killed or, as some say, executed.

soldiers and mercenaries from Picardy. The English soldiers with true sporting instinct got up a shooting match a little distance from the Castle, and the "Picards being left within, shut the gates against them and received in the Frenchmen, with whom they had practised in treason, keeping the Englishmen forth to whom the safe-keeping of that Castle was committed."

Word was brought to Sir Hugh, and with characteristic impetuosity, he marched to the fort, attacked and captured it, took the French prisoners, and beheaded the Picardy soldiers to a man, and all this was done within twenty-four hours of the place being lost.

At Christmas he attacked Estaples, at the time of the great fair, and when he knew many merchants from Boulogne would be there with their wares to "make their markets." "But the sellars had quick utterance," says *Holinshed*, "for that that might easily be carried away the Englishmen laid hands on, and caused the owners to redeem the residue with great sums of money which they undertook to pay, or else Sir Hugh threatened to have burnt all that was left, together with the houses."

The same year Sir Hugh captured the Sieur de Gunny[59] who, as Commandant of Ardres[60] had treacherously surrendered that town to the French, and sent him to England, where he was imprisoned.

Later in the year he took the Castle and razed it
1378 to the ground, together with the church which was near, as it was a great source of protection to the French.

[59] Or Gumery.

[60] He was appointed Captain of Ardres June 8th, 1373.

He had some time previously defeated a stratagem of the Commander there, who, having arranged for a supply of munitions of war and men from the King of France, asked for an interview with Sir Hugh in order to lull him into security and undermine his vigilance. Sir Hugh sent him a safe conduct to Calais, but ordered his own troops to keep a sharp look-out. They did so and intercepted the convoy and brought it into Calais to the disgust of the Captain, who admitted the deceit and confessed that he was outwitted.

1379 In 1379 Sir Hugh was relieved of his command at Calais and returned home, but was created Admiral of the English Fleet in joint Commission with Sir Thomas Percy, and soon putting to sea took seven merchantmen and one man-of-war, which were sent to Bristol.

1379 Some of the seamen going ashore were taken in ambush by Sir Geoffrey Cormel, a Breton Knight. When he found they belonged to Sir Hugh he sent them back to their ships, and offered to provide Sir Hugh with horses and provisions, and promised to deliver up towns and castles to him. Sir Hugh replied that he had other work to do, and could not possibly attend to Sir Geoffrey's wishes at that time.[61] This year Sir Hugh lost a great friend and trusty comrade in Sir John Clarke, who was wounded and taken prisoner in a naval action in which he was ambushed by the French.[62]

At this time Sir Hugh was captain of Brest, but had certainly not been there for some time. He was also

[61] "Walsingham," I., 390.

[62] "Walsingham," I., 401. No doubt he heard this from Sir Hugh himself.

a Commissioner to arrange all matters requiring adjustment between the Duke of Brittany and the English King, and in the warrant is styled "our admiral."

1379 The Duke of Brittany, being reconciled to his subjects after a long banishment, set sail under the conduct of the two admirals, who landed him near to St. Malo; but the wily French, after allowing the ships with troops on board to go into the narrow harbour, suddenly attacked the rearmost ships which had general cargo on board. *Holinshed* says the Duke "was likely to have lost all such furniture, victuals, apparell, hangings, bedding, armour, and other things, which either he or his train had brought with them."

But Sir Hugh, with his quick eye, saw the danger at once and ordered his captain to go about; but the latter protested that it was impossible, or at all events highly dangerous. Sir Hugh never knew impossibility, and by threats he compelled the reluctant seamen to carry out his instructions. He then addressed his troops, saying "that it was a disgraceful thing for them to be overcome by this annoying stratagem, and to see them and their comrades perish without being able to give help, and that they had better embrace death than endure loss in such a disgraceful manner amid the laughter of their enemies"; and he added, "lest the enemy should think that they were unwilling or afraid to bring help to their countrymen, let them feel that God was all powerful and that they themselves were not lacking in spirit."

By this time his ship was close upon the French, and Sir Hugh said they would show what English hands and arms could do. Then the archers on board discharged volley after volley at the French ships, so

that it was, says *Walsingham*, "like a shower of hail in spring—not a nook, not a corner was safe from the flying arrow." And so this good old British bulldog kept the whole of the French ships at bay until he saw that all the English ships had gained safe anchorage. Then he turned about and sailed proudly into the harbour the last of all, but never ceasing to show a bold front to the enemy, "For," says *Walsingham*, "according to his wonted valiancy, he would not return until he saw all others in safety." It was a grand exhibition of bravery and skill.

The Duke of Brittany saw the whole scene from shore, and was loud in his praises of Sir Hugh who had saved his goods; while on the opposite side on the walls of St. Malo, stood Bertrand du Guesclin, who openly declared that he would rather all the French perished than that any harm should happen to so brave a man as Sir Hugh. Another delighted spectator must have been Sir Robert Knolles who accompanied the expedition. It is quite possible that he was on Sir Hugh's ship and had a share in the fighting.

1379 Sir Hugh returned to England, and again set sail (this time in a military capacity) in company with a large army destined to aid the Duke of Brittany. So far Sir Hugh seemed to bear a charmed life on land, and now it certainly seemed as if he were not "born to be drowned." A violent tempest arose which destroyed and drove ashore on the Irish coast many of the vessels. Sir John Arundell, the commander-in-chief, and all his belongings in some five and twenty ships were lost, and one thousand men. "Sir Hugh Calveley was never in his life in more danger of death," says *Holinshed;* and it was reported that he *was* lost, but

with seven others from his ship he managed by means of spars to get to land, and turned up in London much to the surprise of the court.[63]

1380 In this year, in conjunction with Sir Robert Knolles and Sir John Hawkwood, he founded a hospice at Rome "for the entertainment of English travellers or pilgrims in that city in the place where Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, had builded a chapel of the Holy Trinity, which to this day retains the name and is a seminary for our English fugitives."[64]

1380 The Duke of Brittany was meanwhile waiting for the troops which the storm had dispersed and sent messengers to England to enquire, and so another expedition to Brittany was decided upon under the Earl of Buckingham, and a large number of officers and men soon assembled at London. The arrangements for conveying them to Brittany were behindhand, and their pay also. Sir Hugh and a 1000 men were "drumming their heels" outside London, and so short of money, that the soldiers sold their arms for provisions and had to pawn their armour and even their leather jerkins. But the Lord Mayor, John Philpot (one of the most spirited public men of the middle ages), came to the rescue, as he had done on previous occasions, redeemed the pawned goods at his own expense and provided the necessary shipping.

Owing to the small number of ships[65] available the expedition landed at Calais and marched through Nor-

[63] *Walsingham* gives a long account of the wickedness of Sir John Arundell and his soldiers, and contrasts it with the upright behaviour of Sir Hugh; and the shipwreck enables him to draw a very convenient and striking moral.

[64] *Weever*, "Funeral Mon.," 436.

[65] This seems to have been the real cause and not bad weather, as stated by *Otterbourne*.

mandy to Brittany. In this expedition Sir Hugh was in the vanguard and therefore in all the skirmishes which took place.

1380 The Lord Delawarr hearing that the Seneschal of Hainault was in the town of Peronne with a strong body of men, posted himself and others in an ambuscade and then ordered ten men-at-arms to march on Peronne, feeling sure that the Seneschal would not fail to sally out. Accordingly Sir Hugh Calveley and nine others, mounted on their chargers, galloped up to the barriers where there were at least fifty spears with the Seneschal, "who, thinking to catch these gallopers, ordered the barriers to be thrown open and began a pursuit after them, as they retreated to the ambuscade. When those in ambush saw the French pursuing their men they discovered themselves; but it was somewhat too soon, for when the Seneschal perceived this large body well-mounted he sounded a retreat, and the horses then knew the effect of spurs: very opportunely did these lords find the barriers open." The English captured several knights and men-at-arms, but bitterly regretted the escape of the Seneschal and twenty others for, said they, "they would have been worth 40,000 francs to us."

1380 A few days afterwards Sir Hugh was in a sharp fight with the Lord de Hargest, who fled to Plancy pursued by the English, who killed and wounded upwards of eighty Frenchmen in the lower court of the Castle moat. Later in the day Sir Hugh was out reconnoitring with Lord Delawarr, and met Sir John de Roye with twenty Burgundians. The English spurred after them and captured four. About the same time Sir Robert Knolles captured the Earl of Mauvoisin in a skirmish.

The death of the King of France now altered the plans of the Duke of Brittany, who was by no means so ready to welcome the English expedition into his territory, and held aloof. The Earl of Buckingham awaited him in vain at Rennes, and finally sent Sir Robert Knolles and other Knights to Vannes to know the Duke's intentions. They met him on the way, and he returned to Vannes, making some feeble excuses for the delay. A day or two after, the Duke attended by Knolles and the other English Knights, went to Rennes and met the Earl of Buckingham.

The Duke undertook to join the English with his forces within fifteen days, if they would attack Nantes. Thither then the army went and quartered themselves in the suburbs of Nantes. While some of the English leaders were quartered in good houses, Sir Hugh Calveley, Knolles, Sir William Windsor, and other good soldiers stayed with their men; and fortunate it was that they did so, for the French General was very enterprising and made several night sorties, in one of which Sir John Hurlestone and his men were surprised, and would certainly have suffered even more heavily than they did, had not Knolles hastily got his men together and beat off the French. On another occasion they attacked Sir W. Windsor's quarters; but Sir Hugh Calveley's men were on duty that night, and after a very sharp fight drove the French back in the town, though the latter had a knight and ten men to show as prisoners.

1380

On Christmas eve a larger sortie was made, and again Sir Hugh Calveley and Sir William Windsor went to the help of the vanguard with "their torches lighted and their banners displayed," and helped to force the French back.

Meanwhile no help came from the Duke, and on the last day of the year the English raised the siege, which had lasted two months, and retired to Vannes, where the Duke met them and again made specious promises and excuses. The whole winter the troops were in wretched quarters and suffered from cold and famine, for the French would supply nothing, and had it not been for the arrival of some provisions from Cornwall and Guernsey, few would have survived.

The Earl of Buckingham now learnt that the Duke had made peace with France and that the English
1381 were no longer wanted, and on April 10th the expedition set sail for England.

On March 15th Sir Hugh was appointed Governor
1382 of the Channel Islands, a position of power and responsibility.[66] The warrant says "having full faith in the fidelity, reflection and industry of our dear and faithful Hugo de Calvylegh," etc. However "industrious" he might be, Sir Hugh could not be in two places at once, and it is doubtful if he were much in Guernsey during the next few years. On June 20th he was appointed one of the Commissioners with the Bishop of Norwich to receive the homage and fealty of the Count of Flanders and his subjects, but in a later warrant of November 30th, he is dropped out of the Commission, doubtless because of his numerous engagements.

[66] He held the position until his death. I have tried to obtain from the Channel Islands some incidents of his Governorship, but little or nothing seems to be known about it. A petition to the Council by Jean Gorgon, Prior of S. Michel-du-Val of Guernsey, gives the name of Henry Rider "comme lieutenant de Hugh Calvileigh" [Pe't Parl., No. 3592]. This deputy probably did most of the work.

An expedition was now sent from England against
1383 the Anti-pope Clement at the request of Pope Urban, and the warlike Bishop of Norwich was appointed the head of it,[67] and chose as his chief Commander "Sir Hugh Calveley, an old man of war, and one that in all places had borne himself both valiantly and politically." The King does not seem altogether to have trusted the Bishop, for, before the expedition left London, Sir Hugh Calveley, Sir Thomas Trivet, and Sir William Helmon, with others, were specially summoned to the King's Council and swore, in the presence of the King, that they would never make war on the Urbanites, but only on the Clementists. As they were on their way to the coast the King, still distrustful, sent a letter of recall, but the Bishop disobeyed it and the expedition sailed, and arrived at Calais, April 23rd, 1383, and waited until May 4th for their Marshal Sir William Beauchamp, who did not arrive. The Bishop of Norwich, young, eager, and warlike, now proposed to some of his Council that they should attack Flanders, as that country was now under the heel of the French, and the Earl of Flanders had turned the English out of Bruges.

Sir Thomas Trivet and Sir William Helmon readily acquiesced, but said they would like Sir Hugh's opinion before they undertook anything. Sir Hugh had not been present at the Council, having gone to see his Cousin Sir John Drayton, the Governor of Guines. He returned the following day and the Bishop, in the presence of the other knights, expounded his plans. Sir Hugh combated them strongly and said "Sir, you know on what terms we have left England. Our expedition has nothing to do with what concerns the

[67] It was generally known as the Bishop of Norwich's "Crusade."

wars of Kings, but is solely appointed against the Clementists. We are the soldiers of Pope Urban who has given us absolution from all faults, if we destroy the Clementists. Should we march into Flanders, notwithstanding that country may now appertain to the King of France and Duke of Burgundy, we shall forfeit our engagement, for I understand that the Earl of Flanders and all the Flemings are as good Urbanists as ourselves. Besides we have not a sufficient army to enter Flanders, for they are prepared and accustomed to war, having had nothing else to do these last four years. They are a numerous people, and it will be difficult to march through such a strong country. But if you be determined on an expedition, let us march into France, there we shall find our enemies. The King, our lord, is now at open war with them, and the French are all Clementists, holding a contrary faith to us and to our Pope. We ought to wait for our Marshal, Sir William Beauchamp, who cannot fail to arrive soon with large reinforcements, and the last word that the King said to us was, that he would send him. I therefore advise, since you are resolved upon an expedition, that we march towards Aire or Montreuil: none will venture, as yet, to oppose us and we shall add to our numbers by the Flemings who, having lost their all, will come and join us in hopes of gain. They have still rankling in their minds the misfortunes the French brought upon them by the slaughter of their fathers, sons, and friends in the wars."

The Bishop, greatly incensed, retorted that Sir Hugh "had learnt so long to fight in France that he had forgotten how to fight elsewhere," and Sir Hugh, finding no support from the other knights, and stung into acquiescence, left the place saying "By God, sir, if you

make an excursion, Sir Hugh Calveley will accompany you, and you shall neither ride nor march but he will be of the party" *(Froissart)*.[68]

The English first attacked Gravelines, which was strongly defended, and the Bishop and Sir Hugh encouraged their soldiers by saying that those who fell would always be esteemed as martyrs in a holy cause. Finally the town was captured with immense spoils of war. Then Dunkirk was taken, but by this time the Flemings and French had raised a large army which swooped down on the Bishop.

Calveley exhorted the soldiers not to lose heart, but remember how God had given them such a happy commencement as they could scarcely have hoped for. "Who amongst you," he said, "would have believed that with so few, you could capture such a strong town guarded by so many valiant men, and where no warlike instrument and number of the enemy was wanting, unless God had helped us, unless his hand had done all things." "Remember," said he, "you are not about to fight against the stone walls, against the vallum and curtain and ditch of Gravelines, but to undertake a lighter combat against unwarlike Flemish, who are schismatics, and enemies of the Cross, and, because they have not so far been accustomed to fight against the English, for that reason they will be all the more easy to overcome."[69] Owing to the skill of the English archers and a great storm, the English won the day but retired to Dunkirk.

[68] *Walsingham* does not give the altercation. He says Sir Thomas Trivet objected to going to Picardy. Of Sir Hugh he says "he was in all difficulties a staunch comrade and a faithful friend." Sir Hugh, out of consideration to the Bishop, had probably not told *Walsingham* the whole story.

[69] *Walsingham*. This is absolutely opposite to Sir Hugh's opinion of the Flemish as given by *Froissart*. See *ante*.

But the French King raised a very large army, came to the help of the Count of Flanders, and the Bishop had to beat a hasty retreat on Gravelines. When besieging Ypres he had boastingly said he would "wait for the King of France and his army and give them combat," and had refused some proffered reinforcements from England,[70] though Sir Hugh Calveley had said at the time, "Gentlemen, you seem to have great confidence in your strength; why should we refuse the assistance of our countrymen when they offer to come to us and the country consents to it? A day may come perhaps when we shall repent of our refusal." The day *did* come. Sir Hugh covered the Bishop's retreat by throwing himself into the town of Bergues with 3000 men and considered that he could hold out until reinforcements came from England. He established thorough order and discipline amongst his troops, and sent all non-combatants into a church. But the King of France was marching on Bergues, and an English herald, who by courtesy had come through the French army, waited on Sir Hugh at his quarters. "Herald, whence dost thou come"? said Calveley. "My Lord," replied the herald, "I come from the French army, where I have seen the finest men-at-arms, and in such vast numbers that there is not at this day another King who can show the like." "And these fine men-at-arms which thou art speaking of," said Sir Hugh, "what number are they"? "By my faith, my Lord, they are full 26,000 men-at-arms; handsomer nor better armed were never seen." "Ha, ha"! replied Sir Hugh, who was much provoked at the latter part of his speech, "thou art a fine fellow to come and mock us with

[70] *Walsingham* says the recruits that had come over were unarmed and worthless.

this pompous tale. I know well thou hast lied; for many a time have I seen the armies of France, but they never amounted to twenty-six thousand; no, not even to six thousand men-at-arms." The old knight was thinking of Cressy and Poictiers, but this time he was mistaken. He went on the walls and saw the French vanguard go by, and thinking it to be the whole army he said, "Let us go to dinner, for I do not see such a force as would oblige us to surrender the town." Just as he had sat down the watch blew his horn again, and this time Sir Hugh saw some 16,000 pass, and he turned to the herald and said, "I have been wrong to blame you. . . . . I no longer know the state of France; I have never seen such numbers collected together by three-fourths as I now see and have seen in the van." Sir Hugh quietly evacuated the town, and determined to retire on Gravelines and Calais. On his way he met Sir Thomas Trivet[71] and others and said, "By my faith, gentlemen, we have this time made a most shameful expedition; never was so pitiful and wretched a one made from England. You would have your wills, and placed your confidence in the Bishop of Norwich, who wanted to fly before he had wings; now see the honourable end you have brought it to."

Sir Hugh retired to Gravelines, which he burnt, and then to Calais, being "displeased in his mind, for that his counsell could not be regarded in all this voyage, which if it had been followed would have brought it to a better issue than now it was, as was supposed in England."[72]

[71] *Walsingham* says that Calveley was with the Bishop in Gravelines. It is difficult to unravel the campaign.

[72] *Holinshed.*

The end of the matter was that some of the Knights on their return to England were sent to the Tower; the Bishop of Norwich was censured by the Duke of Lancaster "for his evil government therein, but Sir Hugh Calveley he retained with him a time, doing him all honour by reason of the old approved valiancy that had ever been found in him."[73]

In 1385 he accompanied King Richard II. to Scotland, and in connection with this we find him appearing as a witness in the celebrated case of SCROPE *v.* GROSVENOR, and his evidence was as follows:—

"HUGH DE CALVELEY, of the County of CHESTER, required by the Commissioners, sworn and examined to tell the truth between Monsr: Richard le Scrop and Monsr: Robert Grosvenor, of the right of one and the other, replies that he has seen and known Monsr: Richard le Scrop to be armed and to train his banner *azure with bend or;* but that he has heard say that Monsr: Robert Grosvenor had more right to the said arms than Monsr: le Scrop; and says that the first time that he saw the said Monsr: Robert Grosvenor to be armed with the arms *azure with a bend or* was at the last journey in Scotland with our lord the King."

And now, after forty years of continual warfare, Sir Hugh must have felt that his years were drawing to a close and that his fighting days were over, and in accordance with the custom of the time he determined to devote some of his wealth to a religious and charitable object. He had already contributed to the hospital or refuge at Rome, but now he turned his eyes nearer home.

1385

In 1385 he purchased a moiety of the advowson of Bunbury, and a year or so later[74] founded a chantry for a master or warden, a sub-warden, two chaplains, two chanters, and two choristers. Soon after he purchased

[73] It is evident that Sir Hugh's objections and remonstrances with the Bishop were well known.

[74] The license to endow is dated March 12th, 1387 (10 Ric. II.)

the other moiety and settled the whole on the College, and there, prayers for the soul of the King and Sir Hugh, and their ancestors were daily offered, until the College was dissolved in 1547 and its revenues appropriated by the Crown. The establishment then consisted of a Dean, five Vicars, and two Conducts or singingmen. Its revenues were then worth £48 2s. 8d. per annum. The ruins were still to be seen in 1622, but not a stone now remains.

Sir Hugh commenced the repair, and probably the enlargement, of the Church, in June 1386 (10. 11, R. II.), as in that month a warrant was issued to John Done, forester, and Roger de Moldeworth, Equitator of the Forest of Mara and Mondrem,[75] for delivery to Sir Hugh of "20 mastich trees for making scaffolds for the repairs of the Church of Bunbury which the said Hugh proposed to make."[76]

1386-7

He received a grant for life of the Royal Manor of Shotwick,[77] in addition to the "custody of the islands of Guernseye, Jerseye, and other islands there, and 200 marks yearly held by the said Sir Hugh by grant from Edward Prince of Wales, provided always that the said Sir Hugh should not have had £100 yearly of the King's gift."

[75] Now Delamere Forest.

[76] *Ormerod*, II., 258, may be consulted for other documents relating to Church and Chantry.

[77] This seems to have been extra parochial. It does not appear to have had any connection with Shotwick Castle, or the Manor of Shotwick, which latter belonged to the Monastery of S. Werburgh. The Indictment Rolls show that Richard Oldham, a monk (afterwards Abbot), was presented in 1499 for hunting in the Royal Park at "Church Shotewyke" with greyhounds and other dogs, and killing two harts and four hinds. By a curious coincidence this Royal Manor has been sold by auction this year (1906) while this paper was being written. The Mansion and 1,600 acres produced £94,000. It was expressly described as "The Royal Manor."

Bunbury Church—Interior of the Egerton Chapel

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Of the closing years of his life we know little, but on the Chester Recognizance Rolls there is the following entry:—

1393

"1393. John son of John de Whytemore being about to leave the country in the train of Hugh de Calveley, Knight, Senior, the King granted his licence to John de Capenhurst, Edmund de Whytemore and Roger de Merton to act as the Attornies of the said John during his absence."

What the journey was which Sir Hugh proposed to make we do not know. Possibly it may have been to Rome to view his hospice, as Sir Robert Knolles had done a year or two previously.

In the following year the old Knight made his final journey. Hundreds of times he had rushed to the fray shouting "St. George and Guienne," "St. George and England," and he quitted this world, most appropriately, on St. George's Day, April 23rd, 1394.[78] The Inq. p. m. states that he died "issueless, seized of the Manor of Lee cum pert: value xxl per ann: holding the same from the Earl of Chester *in capite* by military service."

M. Luce says[79] Sir Hugh "had the height of a giant, projecting cheekbones, receding forehead, red hair, and teeth so long that they reminded one of the tusks of a wild boar. In his own country he had the reputation of eating as much as four, and drinking as much as ten men. In France the poor peasants, when they heard the deeds of valour of this Gargantua recounted, asked with consternation how they would be able to fill up

[78] His old friend and "Company" leader, Sir John Hawkwood, had died at Florence at an advanced age a few months before. Bertrand du Guesclin, aged 60, in 1380; Chandos in 1370. Sir Hugh was probably about 79 years of age.

[79] "Bertrand du Guesclin," p. 309. It is evident that poor Sir Hugh acted as a kind of "bogey" for the country people.

so huge a gulf"! This portrait of Sir Hugh, as a half-educated savage, is more amusing than trustworthy. Nothing could be further from his true character. There is no doubt, however, that he was of great height and possessed a tremendous appetite.[80]

He was also endowed with great personal strength. *Fuller* says that "two Frenchmen challenged him to wrestle in the presence of the King. He took them one under each arm. One of them struggled. Sir Hugh squeezed him to quietness by breaking his ribs." With his huge height and strength Sir Hugh must have been a terrible adversary "in the day of battle."

Physically and mentally then Sir Hugh was well adapted for hard military service. Of a fiery nature, quick to take offence, we find him almost always in the vanguard of the army, and can understand how bitterly he resented being placed in the rear at Auray. This blazing energy served him well in the taking of Marke near Calais, and in the attack on the French galleys, and we may confidently assert that fearless impetuosity was his great characteristic. But being so quick to strike, he perhaps lacked that cool calculation which his friend Knolles possessed and which is so necessary in a great Commander, and this may be a reason why he never obtained any important independent command. Of his private character no praise can be too high. His name was a household word, and he was honoured and beloved by the King, the Duke of Lancaster, and the whole of the Court. Throughout his long career we never read of a single act of rapine,

[80] His effigy on the tomb at Bunbury measures six feet nine inches from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot. This is probably a correct representation. The old Bunbury tradition gave seven feet six inches. See *infra*.

cruelty, or even unkindness. He seems always to have been a true knight; and so, where the fights in which he participated are mentioned by historians, he always seems to stand in the foreground and to dominate the picture.

Froissart in his wonderful military sketches never lays on his colours more brilliantly or with a more loving hand than when Sir Hugh is one of those actively engaged; while *Thomas of Walsingham* seems to take a pride in telling of his achievements, and almost exhausts adjectives of praise. He hardly ever mentions him without calling down blessings on him or his memory. "In all his works," says *Walsingham*, "God was with him." Surely there are few soldiers of the middle ages of whom this could be said.

The following extracts are taken from *Wright's* "Political Poems and Songs of the 14th Century," published in the Rolls Series. They show the extraordinary popularity that Calveley enjoyed in company with Sir John Chandos, Knolles, and "Claykin." Their names and deeds were "as familiar as household words" throughout the kingdom.

From "Prince Edward's Expedition into Spain and the battle of Najara," by *Walter of Peterborough*:—

"Fultus personis est Calverlensis Hugonis
Armigeris pronis militibusque bonis."

("Sir Hugh Calveley was supported by strenuous and doughty knights").

"Calverlensis Hugo, te nulla retraxit ærugo,
Nullaque ferrugo, liber es absque jugo."

("Thee, Hugh Calveley, no rust of brass or steel has kept back. Freed art thou from the yoke").

"Illis opponis te, Calverlensis Hugonis
Virtus mucronis ictibus apta bonis."

("Confront the foe in person, valorous Hugh Calveley, with shrewd blows of thy steel").

Sir Hugh was never married, though *Fuller* says:—"He married the Queen of Aragon, which is most certain, her arms being quartered on his tomb, though I cannot satisfy the reader in the particularities thereof." No indeed, for no such arms appear there, and this statement (which seems to have originated with *Webb* in his "Itinerary" in 1622) is quite uncorroborated.

Lysons says:—[81]

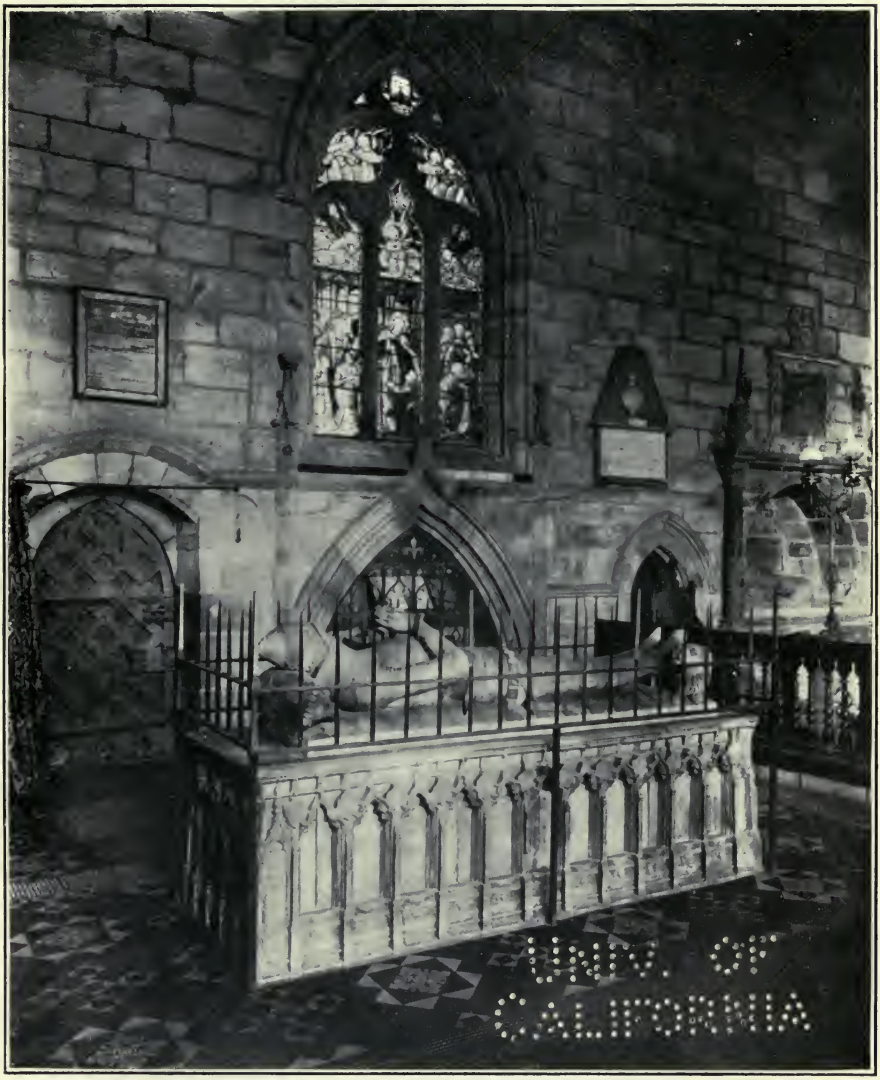
"The only Queen of Aragon that could have married Sir Hugh Calveley, was Eleanor, dowager of Alphonso IV., who became a widow twenty years before Sir Hugh went to the Continent, and we have no evidence that she was then living. Alphonso's successor, Pedro IV., died in the year 1387 after Sir Hugh had retired from public life; his dowager was Sybille de Forcia." [82]

In the middle of the chancel of Bunbury Church, Cheshire, stands the magnificent altar-tomb of Sir Hugh, surmounted by a very fine and costly alabaster effigy.

Concerning this tomb a great deal of rubbish has been written. Sir Hugh's head rests on his tilting helmet, surmounted by his cognizance of a calf's head, and his feet rest on a lion; yet *Fuller* says: "The two figures at the head and feet of the tomb are emblematic of his eating qualities, being a calf and a

[81] "Cheshire," p. 545.

[82] At the same time we must remember that Sir Hugh had been stationed in and on the borders of Aragon for a long period, and a Court intrigue is not unlikely. *Froissart* mentions "Huguelin de Calveley Bastard" in the Earl of Buckingham's expedition of 1380.



Chancel of Bunbury Church—Tomb of Sir Hugh Calveley

J. Elliott

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lamb."[83] While another writer, contradicting this absurd paragraph, says: "This is certainly an erroneous conception; the two figures being evidently a lion and a lamb, expressive of his courage and meekness."[84]

Again, the panels of the tomb bear, alternately, the arms of Calveley and Knolles. This has given rise to the belief that they were related, and has caused endless confusion. Now I have a simple explanation to give which clears up the whole matter. This tomb, I believe, was *erected by Sir Robert Knolles* in memory of his comrade-in-arms. Sir Robert survived Sir Hugh for thirteen years, was immensely wealthy, and had no children. Sir Hugh was unmarried, and was succeeded by his great-nephew,[85] a boy of seven, so that it is quite unlikely that he would ever have had so costly a monument erected by his successor. Sir Robert Knolles, in accordance with the custom of the time (and especially if he was, as is probable, an executor), put his own arms on the tomb alternately with those of Sir Hugh.[86] It was often done, and implied no actual relationship. Once this explanation is accepted, all the nebulous talk of relationship fades completely away.[87]

[83] The lamb's tail is twenty-nine inches long!

[84] "Cheshire Biography," p. 72.

[85] Not "nephew" as most writers aver. See *Ormerod*, II.

[86] There are no other arms on it. Sir Hugh Browe's arms are said to be there. If he bore the same arms as Sir Robert (as is said) then they certainly *are* there, but he had no connection with the tomb. The "Aragon" myth has already been dealt with.

[87] In Trinity Church, Chester, is the alabaster figure in complete armour of John de Whitmore (already referred to) who died October 3rd, 1374, according to the inscription upon it. It has often been pointed out that there is a certain similarity between this monument and that of Sir Hugh Calveley in Bunbury Church, but that the Whitmore is certainly of later date than 1374. I think this can be explained. As we have seen, Sir John de Whitmore's son served under Sir Hugh Calveley.

There is a very interesting passage referring to this tomb in a paper read by Mr. Ayrton before this Society in 1850.[88] He says "In the chancel still remains the alabaster effigies of Sir Hugh . . . . and underneath rest remains which were carefully examined within the last three years, and which there is no doubt are the bones of the hero himself. In answer to my inquiries respecting this search, I received the following memorandum from Mr. Jno. Fenna, of Alpraham:—

'It being matter of dispute with the antiquarians of the parish whether the remains of the late Sir Hugh Calveley lay interred under the monument or not, I solicited and obtained permission of Mr. Aldersey, of Aldersey Hall, to open the vault. I therefore, about the 25th day of April, 1848, in the presence of the Curate and Churchwardens, proceeded to examine the interior of the vault. I found the fragments of an oak coffin, apparently of uncommon size, almost crumbled to dust; the handles of the sides being iron were nearly entire. By the side of his coffin lay a lead coffin quite fresh, with the initials D.M.C. which I suppose to be that of Dame Mary Calveley. I measured some of the bones which I have no doubt were Sir Hugh's, from their extraordinary size. The cranium from the *os frontis* to the *os occipitis* was of much greater dimension than the generality of men, and likewise the transverse section from the *os temporum* to the other *os temporum;* also the *os femoris*, or thigh bone, was two inches or more longer than the average size of men. He is supposed to have measured seven feet six inches in

He no doubt went to see his old Captain's tomb in Bunbury Church and determined to erect a similar one to the memory of his own father, who had died some twenty years previously. In that interval of time changes had taken place in armour but the sculptor was "up-to-date," and this explains a seeming anachronism. There are two engravings of this tomb from drawings in Vol. I. of the old Series of our Archæological Society's Journal, but the tomb seems to have been in better preservation then than it is now (1907). Personally, I think the Whitmore tomb far inferior in design and execution to that of Sir Hugh, and doubt if it was by the same artist.

[88] See *Chester Archæological Society's Journal*, Series I., Part II.

height when he lived. There is a mark on the wall in Bunbury Church which old people say was the memorandum of his height.

J. FENNA.' "[89]

I very much doubt if these were the bones of the celebrated Sir Hugh. The last of the male line of the Calveleys died in 1648, and his wife "Dame Mary" survived him fifty-seven years, and died April 25th, 1705. In her Will she says: "My body to be buried in linen and in the same vault in the parish church of Bunbury, wherein my said dear husband was interred. . . . My will is that the chancel of the said parish church of Bunbury and the monument of my said late dear husband therein, shall be kept clean and free from dust." From this it would seem that her husband had a separate monument, but no trace of one exists; and a wooden funeral tablet still hanging on the walls of the chancel says she left money "to sweep and make clean ye chancel and ye monument there under which the said Sir Hugh and Dame Mary his wife lye interred." This seems clearly to indicate that they were buried in the family vault under the great Sir Hugh's monument, and that the bones and remains of the coffin found in 1848 were those of the "last of the Calveleys."[90]

[89] Mr. D. E. Byrd, Churchwarden of Bunbury, kindly gives the following information dated February 14th, 1907:—"I have looked up the Bunbury Church accounts during Mr. Fenna's churchwardenship in 1847-8 and also 1852, but can find no memo. of Sir Hugh Calveley's tomb having been opened, neither could I see any mark on the wall. If there ever was one it would have been chiselled off during the restoration in 1860-1."

Another tradition current at Bunbury in the 18th century was that Sir Hugh ate regularly every day a calf and a sheep. *Cheshire Sheaf*, II., 141.

[90] Dame Mary lived in Chester for many years, and was a great frequenter of the Cathedral. A certain pew which she occupied became a subject for litigation in the Ecclesiastical Courts for a period of some

One other point is important. *We have no proof whatever* that the great Sir Hugh *was ever buried* in Bunbury church. It is quite possible that he died abroad on his last journey in 1393, and was not brought back to England, and that his tomb is therefore a cenotaph.

This monument figures in *Stothard's* "Monumental Effigies of Great Britain," and the editor of the last edition (1876) says:—

"The extreme richness of this knightly harness is best understood by an examination of the details. Jewels and Goldsmith's work are spread over the armour from head to foot. The assertion of *Froissart* that the knights were often refused quarter in order that by their death their costly suits might become the property of the vanquisher, receives strong confirmation by the example before us. In the forms of its various parts, the armour presents no novelty . . . . In one of the letters published in the "*Memoirs of Stothard*" (p. 108), our artists writes 'Sir Hugh Calveley, a great soldier under the Black Prince, is my subject, and in tolerable preservation, considering the hazards he has already run of being pounded or given in powders to cattle; for alabaster, I understand is a sovereign remedy for the rot in sheep and other disorders of that nature.[91] The knight's feet,[92] sword, fingers, and part of his crest, have already been used for that purpose. What say you to our Cheshire recipes.' "

Sir Hugh's arms were what is known as "canting" arms. *Argent: a fesse gules between three calves trippant*

fifty years. She is said to have presented the Dean and Chapter with the fine piece of tapestry which formerly hung in the Nave and is now in the Chapter House. Experts date it back only to Stuart times; otherwise it seems possible that it may have formed part of Sir Hugh's Flemish spoils. See *Cheshire Sheaf* (first series), III., 250.

[91] Many alabaster altar slabs are said to have been mutilated from this cause. The Clerk of Bunbury Church informs me that underneath the present tiled chancel floor there are many alabaster slabs. It seems probable that Knolles paved the whole chancel with this costly material.

[92] The feet have been cleverly restored with plaster of Paris.

sable. Crest: *a calf's head proper issuing from a ducal coronet or.*

Sir Hugh's arms, together with those of Sir Robert Knolles, occur at Bunbury Church, Cheshire, and also in Norfolk (*vide* Knolles).

The following curious fact may also be mentioned :— Randle Holme, Alderman of Chester, paid a fine of Ten Pounds in 1631 in order to avoid being knighted at the King's Coronation, and the receipt for the amount, signed *G. Booth*, is still extant. "The receipt is impressed in the centre with an ancient seal of some centuries earlier date bearing the following legend :— S'. RIC : FIL' : RIC : LE : CAVLI'" (*Cheshire Sheaf*, First series, Vol. II., 102). Why Sir G. Booth should use an old seal of Richard Calveley seems inexplicable.

It is very strange that Sir Hugh was never made a Knight of the Garter. Many men of far less experience in the field, and certainly inferior to him in manly worth, received it. It is possible that his family descent was not considered good enough; or, may it be that Sir Hugh *would not* be a Knight seeing that Knolles *could* not be? It would be quite characteristic of his magnanimity and good nature.

In conclusion, it is not too much to say that neither Cheshire nor the whole of this realm has ever produced a truer Knight (in every sense of the word) than

Sir Hugh Calveley

The Knight's bones are dust,
His sword is rust,
His Soul is with the Saints I trust.

Two Cheshire Soldiers of Fortune of the XIV. Century: Sir Hugh Calveley & Sir Robert Knolles

BY JOSEPH C. BRIDGE, M.A., D. Mus. (Oxon.), F.S.A.

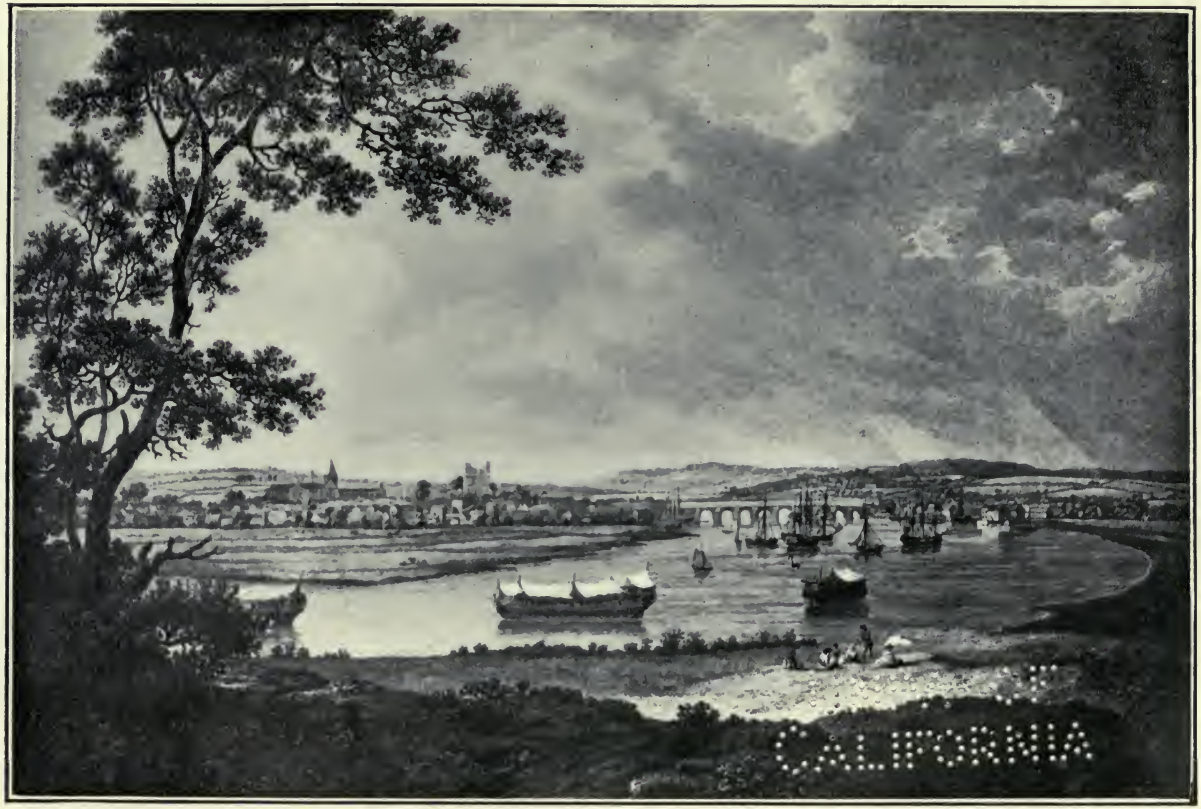
Sir Robert Knolles

(Read Tuesday, March 19th, 1907)

THE first question we are confronted with is who *was* Sir Robert Knolles? Can we penetrate through the mysterious veil which seems so far to have baffled those biographers who have touched on him? I think we can; and that several points which have puzzled writers heretofore are capable of a simple explanation.

He was a Cheshire man, and of humble origin. All the old historical writers are agreed upon this; but we will go back to the fountain head, *Thomas of Walsingham*. He says:[1] "Robertus Knollis, ex paupere mediocrique valleto, mox factus ductor militum, ad divitias usque regales excrevit ibidem"; *i.e.*, "Robert Knolles, who from poor and inferior birth, later was made a leader of the army, and there amassed even regal riches." Now this account was undoubtedly

[1] *Tho. of W.*, Vol. I., 286 (Rolls Series).



North view of the City of Rochester, 1790

written while Knolles was alive,[2] and it is quite within the bounds of possibility that Thomas knew Knolles personally, for Walsingham was born in Norfolk, and was prior of Wymondham in 1394, at a time when Knolles had acquired property at Sculthorpe in that county; and Walsingham certainly knew Calveley well. He is therefore, of all writers, the one most likely to know the truth.

Weever says: [3]

"Being born but of mean parentage in the county of Chester, was by his valiant behaviour advanced from a common soldier to a great commander."

Holinshed says:

"Indeed this Sir Robert Knolles was not descended of any high lineage, but born in the county of Chester of mean offspring, nevertheless through his valiant prowess and good service in war, grown to such estimation as he was reputed worthy of all honour due to a noble and skilful warrior, so that it was thought the King could not have made his choice of one more able or sufficient to supply the roumth of a chieftain than of him."

And he ascribes to this defect of Knolles the insubordination which occurred in his army in 1370.[4] The whole of our old historians, without exception, agree as to Knolles being of humble origin.[5]

[2] The earlier portion of the history was copied from a MS. belonging to St. Alban's Abbey, between 1377 and 1392; and the remainder written in 1393. *Walsingham* is the great authority for Calveley and Knolles; and all subsequent writers have copied largely from him, and often without due acknowledgment.

[3] "Funeral Monuments," 436.

[4] See *infra*.

[5] The writer of the article in the *Dic. Nat. Biog.* says: "Despite such expressions, Knolles was probably of honorable parentage," but does not give a single proof to support his statement, which is opposed to all evidence. *M. Luce*, in his "Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin," says that he was an archer, and (p. 291) began life as a working weaver. *Jehan le Bel* says (II., 216) he was a German and a tailor! On this latter point he evidently confuses him with the other great *Condottiere* Sir John Hawkwood, who was a tailor's son.

But the few modern historians who have treated of the subject have imbibed the idea that Knolles and Calveley were related, and have jumped to that conclusion, as I believe, on insufficient grounds, and have succeeded in making a mystery where none previously existed. This idea of relationship is based on the following grounds:—

1. That the arms of Knolles appear upon Calveley's tomb. The explanation, as I have already stated in my previous lecture, is very simple. Knolles erected the tomb, and in accordance with custom (especially if he were, as is probable, an executor) added his own arms to those of the individual the tomb commemorated. It was frequently done.

2. The following grant of entail:—

   In 27-28 Edward III. (1354) we find a grant of the Manor of Lee to Mabel de Calvylegh (the second wife of David Calveley) for life with successive remainders to Hugh, David and Robert sons of Richard[6] de Calvylegh, with an ultimate remainder to the right heirs of the said Hugh.

   In an Inq. p.m. 35 Edward III. (1361-2) we find Mabell de Calvylegh "held for life the Manor of Lee by military service, with reversion to Hugh de Calveley and his heirs, with remainder to David de Calvylegh his brother in tail; remainder to Robert de Knollus Chv. (chevalier) in tail with final remainder to the right heirs of said Hugh de Calvylegh."

There seems nothing remarkable in this. Since 1354 Sir Hugh's youngest brother Robert had died. He himself had no intention of marrying, and this left

[6] "Richard" seems an error for "David."

one brother only as heir, who, judging by his early death, must have been delicate. What is more natural than that Sir Hugh should wish the estate—in case his family died out—to go to his great friend and comrade Sir Robert Knolles? Sir Robert would doubly benefit by having a Cheshire estate, for it would not only bring him money, but a position in the County which his humble birth so far had denied to him.

There seems no reason whatever for saying, as Helsby in *Ormerod* says, that Sir Robert *must* be a brother of Sir Hugh, and the same as the original Robert of the deed of 1354. Then we have *Lysons* who says ("Cheshire," p. 543):—

"It has been already mentioned that the place of Sir Robert Knolles's birth is not known, nor has anything been handed down to posterity relating to his family or connections, but he is said to have been of humble origin. It is a singular circumstance, that Sir Hugh Calveley should have had a nephew named Robert Knolles, the son of his sister Eve, who married Richard Knolles; on which Robert, the Manor of Lea, in case of the failure of issue male from Sir Hugh Calveley and his brother David, was entailed by a deed of the 10th of April, 1354; and it is further remarkable, that the arms which were borne by the family of Knolles are placed alternately with those of Sir Hugh Calveley, on Sir Hugh's tomb. Did not the circumstance of their being evidently so near of an age render it improbable, there would be strong reason for supposing that the two celebrated Cheshire warriors were uncle and nephew."

In answer to this we must note that:—

1. The original grant of 1354 states that Robert was a brother of Sir Hugh and not a nephew.
2. No trace of an Eve Calveley, or of her marriage to Richard Knolles exists. Whence

Lysons derived this extraordinary and unique information is a mystery.[7]

3. The arms on the tomb have been already explained.

4. As for their being uncle and nephew, it is absurd to suppose that they could live in this relationship for so many years without anyone finding it out, even if their ages rendered it possible!

Froissart would have travelled thousands of miles to investigate such an interesting point as this.

There seems no doubt whatever that Knolles *was* of humble origin, and was no relative of Sir Hugh Calveley. He was probably a Cheshire archer, and accompanied Sir Hugh when he was summoned to war in 1347. Knolles' first war service that we know of was at the siege of Roche D'Arian in that year (*vide* Calveley). We next find him at the Battle of the Thirty in 1351 (*vide* Calveley), where he appears as a Knight. *M. Luce*, a careful historian, says:—

"Robert Knolles, who from a simple archer became the most redoubtable chief of partisans of his nation, and even of his century. Robert, then at the beginning of a military career which became so brilliant and so fruitful, figured at the Combat of the Thirty as second champion of the English side, although he was only an Esquire; for he is wrongly put down as a Knight in the lists of the champions of the two parties. He did not acquire this title until eight years later at the Sack of Auxerre, March 10th, 1359."[8]

I do not know on what authority *M. Luce* based this statement, but it is to some extent corroborated by a

[7] A *Richard de Knolles* appears as a witness to a deed of assignment by "Alice Rodes la feme Hug' de Calvelegh" 1330, and an *Eva Browe* appears in a deed of 1349 (*Woodnoth* MS. Brit. Museum). I think *Lysons* and *Woodnoth* have mixed up the various families. See *infra*.

[8] "Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin," p. 103.

Site of the "Battle of the Thirty" (old and new monuments)

proclamation[9] of Edward III., in 1355, ordering the following to submit in every way to the Duke of Lancaster:—

Thomas de Liston, Chevalier
John Rosse
Simon de Neunton
Walter de Bentley, Chevalier
Robert de Knolles

Here we have Knolles mentioned without knighthood, and though these letters and proclamations were rather loosely drawn up, and I have my doubts as to the correctness of *Luce's* statement, I think we must accept it until we can prove the contrary by fresh evidence.

After the Battle of the Thirty we find that on August 15th, 1352, Lord Guy de Nesle, Marshal of France, having raised a considerable army in Brittany, was attacked by the English under Sir Walter Bentley and Sir Robert Knolles near Mauron, between Rennes and Ploermel. The English had but three hundred men-at-arms and six hundred archers, while the French with some four thousand men had taken up a strong position with a high hill at rear. The fighting was of a desperate character, scarcely an Englishman escaped being wounded, but the victory of the English was complete, for thirteen French Lords, one hundred and forty Knights, and five hundred Bachelors were slain, and one hundred and thirty held to ransom. Knolles' gains must have been large, and possibly with his share of the booty he set himself to organise and discipline one of those Free Companies of which I have already spoken. He seems to have been a liberal

1352

[9] *Rymer.*

paymaster, and was a soldier in whom a man might have confidence and trust.

We know little of his doings for some three or four years. In 1355 he was in charge of the Castles of Chateaubriant and Fougeray, but he was placed under the order of Thomas de Holand, and was also included in the order (already quoted) issued by King Edward enjoining absolute obedience to the Duke of Lancaster. The fact was that these "Captains" of small garrisons enriched themselves at the expense of the surrounding country, and did not always account for the proceeds. It was the result of the vicious system of "farming out" the captured towns which Edward had himself initiated. Time after time he sent his Lieutenants to control these "Captains" and assert his authority, but to little purpose, and Knolles, David, and Croquart seem to have been more than usually obdurate and disobedient. But Knolles was meanwhile gathering round him a formidable following, and when the Duke of Lancaster in 1356 prepared to raid Normandy, Knolles joined him at once and brought with him from Carentoir three hundred men-at-arms and five hundred archers.

1355

With nine hundred men-at-arms and fourteen hundred archers the Duke marched on June 22nd, and slept that night at Carentoir, and his itinerary was :—

June	24.	St. Lo and Thorigny
,,	25.	Evrecy
,,	27.	Argences
,,	28.	Lisieux
,,	29.	Raised the siege of Pont Audemer
July	2.	Abbey of Bec
,,	3.	Conches
,,	4.	Verneuil

After pillaging the town, he remained three days, and having escaped the army which King John sent against him, he regained the Cotentin and returned to his starting place on July 13th.

Towards the close of this raid, Knolles, who was riding on ahead to seek quarters for the army attended by only six men-at-arms, suddenly encountered "six score men-at-arms, darblastiers, brigauntz, and Fraunceys,[10] and completely routed them, killing all except three who were put to ransom."

Meanwhile the Prince of Wales was marching north from Bordeaux, and in August the Duke of Lancaster set off again with the intention of joining forces. But between the two armies rolled the river Loire. The Duke reached Ponts-de-Cé about September 16th.[11] He found every bridge broken down and every ford well-guarded by a large French army, and no junction was possible. According to some historians however, Knolles joined the Prince, and between Blois and Bourges went out with a reconnoitring party under Sir John Chandos. They came upon a party of French, slew thirty and captured the rest. Later the same day they were fortunate enough to come up with another party of French, who had ambushed a party of English. Between the two English attacks the French were again defeated.

Then followed the Battle of Poictiers, where Sir Robert Knolles so distinguished himself, says an old chronicler, that his name was in everyone's mouth.

"In isto bello de Robert Knollis Milite
Cestriæ sic canebatur metrice."

[10] "Robert of Avesbury," ed. *Hearne*, p. 251. Many were probably foragers and rustics, badly armed.

[11] Some say about 23rd. Poictiers was fought September 26th.

(In that battle, of Robert Knolles a Cheshire soldier it was thus rhymingly sung)

"O Robert Knollis; per te fit Francia mollis;
Ense tuo tollis prœdas, dans vulnera Collis." [12]

Now it is certain that neither the Duke of Lancaster nor any of his troops reinforced the Prince, for the River Loire was so closely watched, but a resolute man like Sir Robert with a few followers might easily get across in a boat or two at some unfrequented spot. I have been unable to trace his doings for at least a month before Poictiers, and he may perhaps have come down through Brittany, where every yard of the route was familiar to him; and we have no direct evidence that he was with the Duke when the latter started off for the second time in August.

On the other hand, if he so distinguished himself at the battle, one would naturally look for some special reward for his services, but I have failed to trace any.[13] At present I think the evidence is not sufficient to prove that he was present at the battle, and that the Latin couplet quoted must refer to his later raid in 1360; and some historians indeed allot it to that period.[14]

Immediately after Poictiers we find him in Normandy again with the Duke of Lancaster. With Sir James Pipe he made a sudden attack on Honfleur, killed many of the French, and put the Marshal of France to flight.

[12] Register of Bermondsey in "Annales Monastici," Vol. IV. (Rolls Series). This was written about 1433, only 77 years after the battle, and is therefore a good authority. I shall refer to this couplet later.

[13] Neither Calveley nor Knolles figures in the lists of Cheshiremen who received rewards for services at Poictiers or in Gascony, given by *Mr. T. Helsby* in the "Cheshire Sheaf," Vol. II., 40; but the list is perhaps not complete.

[14] *e.g.*, *Barnes'* "History of Edward III."

At the beginning of October the Duke of Lancaster laid siege to Rennes, in order to console himself for not having taken part in the battle of Poictiers a fortnight previously,[15] and one of the divisions of his army was commanded by Knolles,[16] and the siege proved a long one.

Early in this year Dinan was besieged also, and during a short truce, an English knight called
1357 Thomas of Canterbury took prisoner a younger brother of Bertrand du Guesclin, who, greatly incensed at this breach of good faith, rode at once to Rennes and demanded that the Knight should fight a single combat. Knolles and another friend tried in vain to arrange matters amicably, and the duel had to take place. Du Guesclin was victorious and would have killed the Englishman, but again some of the English and French knights present interfered and Knolles said "Bertrand, take your champion to the Duke of Lancaster. He will be very pleased and will hold you in good account. You have done enough, he is at your mercy." Du Guesclin agreed, and his brother was ransomed and received a thousand livres and the horse of the vanquished knight, who was banished from the English court.

During the winter the English suffered a good deal, and in June 1357 they had not succeeded in taking Rennes, when a treaty made at Bordeaux in the previous March put an end to the siege, though the

[15] So says *Luce*, p. 189. Other writers say the siege did not begin until December.

[16] This is not incompatible with being at Poictiers, for *Cuvelier* says that Chandos and Lord Audley were at Rennes, and we know that they were at the battle.

actual particulars regarding the latter are somewhat obscure.

The cessation of war between France and England had no effect on the combatants for the Dukedom of Brittany, and Knolles transferred his sword to the King

1357 of Navarre and accompanied him to Evreux, and served under that Monarch for a considerable period with the "Companies," which he organized and commanded for so many years.

Otterbourne says:

"In that same year (1358), by a heavy defeat, Normandy and Brittany are laid waste by Philip the brother of the King of Navarre, Sir James Pipe, and Robert Knolles . . . . nevertheless without the sanction of the King; and so carried hostilities throughout those parts for three years and more." [17]

1358 In October he captured Chatillon-sur-Loing, Chateauneuf-sur-Loire, and Malincorne.[18]

On Sunday, March 10th, Knolles and Thomas Fogg

1359 of Chester[19] stormed and captured Auxerre, and remained there until the end of April, when they evacuated the town, receiving the enormous ransom of 40,000 moutons and 40,000 pearls worth 10,000 moutons.[20]

Knolles then accompanied Prince Philip in an attempt to relieve St. Valery-sur-Somme, which had withstood a

[17] *Ed. Hearne*, p. 141. *Jehan le Bel* says that Knolles was one of the earliest leaders of the Companies.

[18] He still held these towns in 1360, and had to evacuate them by the treaty of Bretigny.

[19] *M. Luce* says they were knighted for this exploit, but does not say by whom the knighthood was bestowed. Perhaps by Prince Philip of Navarre. (*Vide* Calveley).

[20] Reckoning the *mouton* as low as four shillings, and multiplying by ten to raise to the value of the present day (which is a moderate estimate), it will be seen that the ransom was quite equal to £100,000 of our money.

siege of seven months. The town however capitulated, and the relieving force found themselves surrounded by some 30,000 French at the little village of Thorigny, which stood on a hill. The Navarrois prepared to fight, and the small force of 3,000 men was divided into three divisions, the first being commanded by Sir Robert Knolles, the second by Prince Philip, and the third by Earl Harcourt. The men were commanded "to cut their spears to a five foot length, and in the hanging of the hill they caused their valets to set all their spurs in the earth with the rowels upward, to make the enemies ascent more difficult."[21] However, the French hesitated to attack, and in the night Knolles and his army evacuated the town in safety, and crossing the Somme, ultimately arrived again in Normandy, where "they made war as before."

Knolles now seems to have resolved to have an expedition on his own account. *Froissart* says:—

"On the sea coast of Normandy there were a still greater number of English and Navarrois plunderers and robbers. Sir Robert Knolles was their leader, who conquered every town and castle he came to, there being none to oppose him. Sir Robert had followed this trade for some time, and by it gained upwards of 100,000 crowns. He kept a great many soldiers in his pay; and being very liberal, he was cheerfully followed and obeyed."

Knolles is said to have proclaimed that he fought for neither Breton nor English, but only for himself, and to have inscribed on his banner the following couplet:—

"Qui Robert Canolles[22] prendera
Un Cent Mille moutons gagnera."

[21] *Barnes'* "History of Edward III," 554.

[22] His name was generally spelt thus in French.

which I will render:—

"Who captures Robert Knolles most surely gains
A hundred thousand muttons for his pains." [23]

In July 1359 he started on this famous raid from Brittany, along the Loire, destroying and ravaging the country on every side. He burnt and plundered the suburbs of Orleans, "none daring to come forth of the City against him, his name was so dreadful at the time." Indeed, at Ancenis in Brittany the people threw themselves from the walls and jumped into the Loire, on hearing of his approach. No less than forty towns and fortified places fell into his hands.

He was rightly called "Le véritable demon de Guerre," "the true demon of war." He passed on to Berry, and finally vowed he would get as far as Avignon and visit the Pope. There was dire consternation "under the red robe" when the Pope and Cardinals heard this, for "he who sups with the devil must have a long spoon," and they knew that they would have to entertain a "demon of war," who would require provisions and money on no small scale, and would be in no hurry to depart.

However, Knolles had only got within twelve leagues of Avignon, when he heard that the French had collected a large force in his rear at Clermont in Basse Auvergne. He turned back and took up a fortified

[23] There is a little 14th century slang and a punning allusion here. The *Mouton d'or* was a gold coin bearing on one side the impression of the "Agnus Dei," or "Lamb of God." Hence these pieces got the slang name of *moutons* or *motons*. Fifty-two of them went to a marc of pure gold. (*Vide Du Cange*, "multones," "muttones"). They were reckoned to be worth about five English shillings. The term has deceived several writers, including *Longman* in his "History of Edward III.", who thinks it refers to the value of a sheep.

position on a hill with about 3000 men. The French arrived at another hill on the opposite side with 10,000 men. At midnight the French had resolved to go round the mountain and attack the English from the rear. Sir Robert got wind of this from an English prisoner who stole out of the French camp, so he packed up his baggage and marched away in great silence with some trustworthy guides. The French, having got round the mountain at daylight, found the "bird had flown," and was now so far on his way to Limoges that they could not possibly overtake him. Making his way to Brittany by forced marches, he directed his steps to Bécherel and there learnt that Bertrand du Guesclin had inflicted a severe defeat on Sir William Windsor,[24] and this Knolles determined to avenge. His arrival had been rapid and secret. Says *M. Luce*:—

1359

"He arrives, according to his habit, like a wolf. He makes so little noise, and knows so well how to conceal his movements, that the enemy do not know of his return. Bertrand himself, whose ear is so keen, has not heard him arrive. Knolles resolves at once to profit by this ignorance."[25]

He took a little time to collect his troops by means of detachments from the principal English garrisons both in Brittany and Basse-Normandy, and then, having received these reinforcements, he suddenly threw himself on the enemy. This was at Pas d'Evran[26] at the end of 1359. Completely surprised, and with fewer troops, Bertrand du Guesclin was thoroughly defeated and taken prisoner, his actual captor being Robin Ades,

[24] *M. Luce* says Edward III. had specially recalled Knolles on account of this mishap, but I do not think this is correct.

[25] *Luce*, "Bertrand du Guesclin," 275.

[26] Between Dinan and Bécherel.

one of Knolles' lieutenants, who was at the Battle of the Thirty.

So ended in this brilliant manner a most eventful year of Knolles' life. His raid seems to have caused a great sensation, and there can be little doubt that the popular rhyming couplet concerning him had its origin now. A slightly different version to the one already quoted is to be found in *Knighton*, who says:

"The said Robert Knolles came within twelve leagues of Avignon, and such was the reputation he brought with him that the Pope and Cardinals did not dare to stay outside the palace, and mockingly said amongst themselves:—

Roberte Cnollys parte fit Francus Mollis
Ipsius tollis prœdas, dans vulnera Collis."

The version originally given seems the most correct, and *Stow* translates it as follows:—

"O Robert Knowles, most worthy of fame
By thy prowess France was made tame.
Thy manhood made the French to yield
By dint of sword in towne and field."

And *Barnes* thus:—

"Sir Robert Knolls, all France controls
He takes their prey and them doth slay."

No translation that I have seen gives the hidden meaning, or pun, in the last line "dans vulnera Collis." Now *Collis* = a hill or *Knoll*, and the translation runs thus:—

"O Robert Knolles, by thee is France subdued—
By thy sword thou takest booty—a *Knoll* giving wounds."

War was now about to break out again between France and England, and Knolles saw fresh opportunities for plunder and glory if he could join in it,

but the way was not altogether plain. His services with his Company under the King of Navarre had never had the sanction of Edward (who always denounced these Navarrois as "robbers"), and this prolonged raid through France would still further alienate the English King's sympathies and friendship. Says an old historian:[26]

"After this Expedition Sir Robert Knolles, who by these unlawful Wars in time of Truce was risen to the wealth of an Earl, began to reflect upon himself, how heinously he had offended the King his Master, and thereby was become outlawed; and now that the Wars were open again between England and France, being very desirous to recover his Royal Favour, that so he might be admitted to bear Arms upon a more just Account, he began to make friends in the Court of England, and sent great presents to the Prince of Wales, and other of the Kings Sons, earnestly entreating them to move the King in his Behalf; and unto the King himself he absolutely offer'd 'what soever he had any way acquired in France, whether Castles, Towns, Goods or Chattels, or any other thing, he willingly submitted them all to his Liege Lord to dispose of at his Pleasure, only desiring his full and gracious Pardon; and if it should please his Majesty to permit him to hold any of his Acquests as a Royal Demesne, and only *Durante Bene placito*, he should think himself happy in being thereby somewhat enabled to serve his Majesty according to his Harts Desire.' This handsome and humble Submission extremely pleased the King and his Sons, and so he not only obtain'd a full pardon,[27] but also a Grant of many Castles and Lordships in Consideration of his Abilities for the War, and because he had so entirely put himself upon the King's Goodness."

That same year he fell into the hands of his enemies about Michaelmas, but as they were leading him away,

[26] *Barnes'* "History of Edward III." 563.

[27] He received a formal pardon, and it is worth noting that in 1376 Parliament asked that Sir John Hawkwood might have a similar pardon.

he had the good fortune to be rescued by his old friend Hanekin François,[28] who by chance rode that way; and "not only saved his friend so opportunely, but overcame his enemies, of whom he took forty good prisoners."

Knolles now received a welcome reinforcement from England. On April 1st, 1360, the King issued a safe conduct to "Constance, the wife of Robert Knolles," to pass over to Brittany with ten men-at-arms, twenty archers, and some private servants. Before the expedition sailed at the end of the month, the reinforcement had grown larger; and on April 31st the King sent a letter[29] to "Thomas Fishacre master of the Ship called the 'George' of Plymouth, Walter le Venour and William Cole masters of the Ship called the 'Bartholomew' of Plymouth, and Maurice Prigg master of the Ship called 'La Toussaint' of Plymouth, and John Sely master of the Cray called the 'Bartholomew' of Plymouth," commanding them to convey to Brittany, Constance, the wife of our "beloved and faithful Robert Knolles," twenty men-at-arms, forty archers on horseback, and other men and women of her household. The Ships were to be well armed and equipped with all necessaries at the expense of the said Constance.[30]

When and where Sir Robert was married we do not know, but he certainly picked up a very efficient helpmate, for it must have been no light task for a woman

[28] *Barnes* (p. 557) says he was "a lewd barbarous fellow of Colen on the river Rheyn. . . . a most bloody butcher indeed." *Twysden* calls him "Robert Randekyn."

[29] *Rymer*.

[30] "Ad sumptus prædictæ Constantiæ." I think the King provided the ships free of charge.

in those days to organize and "personally conduct" to Brittany a body of armed men.[31]

The peace of Bretigny having given a little breathing space, Knolles seems to have returned to England. In 1361 he suddenly set out for Brittany, for on July 12th the King ordered Thomas Dautre to prepare twenty ships to transport Knolles with forty men-at-arms and eighty archers to Brittany, and such was the urgency, that if necessary, the ships were to be taken from those appointed for the expedition into Gascony.

1361

On the same day the King again granted a lease of the Castles of Fugery and Castelblanche in Brittany to Knolles and his attorneys for two years, in return for a thousand marks to be paid yearly at Pentecost. Knolles seems to have paid his rent in advance, for the next day, July 13th, the Exchequer acknowledges the receipt of 2,000 florins or motons—"*pro custodia castrorum de Gravele, Fugery, et albo Castro.*"

On April 28th the King ordered the authorities at Dartmouth and Weymouth to provide ships for a reinforcement to Knolles of twenty men-at-arms and forty archers. This contingent had doubtless been organized by his wife. In June Sir Robert was at the siege of Bécherel; and in November he and Sir Walter Hewett were named as two of the English

1363

[31] Her armorial bearings show her to have been a Yorkshire *Beverley* from Pontefract, and this explains Knolles' connection with that town. At the same time it is to be noted that there was a Cheshire branch of the Beverleys also. *Leland* says she was "a woman of mene birth and sumtyme of dissolute lyving before marriage," but this is probably mere gossip. She died between 1381 and 1389, and was interred in the Church of the Whitefriars, London. Knolles left money for many masses and prayers for his "dear wife Constance," by whose side he was buried. They seem to have been a very devoted couple.

Commissioners appointed to carry out the treaty between Simon de Montfort and Charles of Blois, which had been set on foot by the Prince of Wales. One of the hostages from Charles of Blois was du Guesclin, who for a month was in charge of Sir Robert. Needless to say Knolles treated him well, and many a chat we may be sure had these two great guerilla chiefs over past exploits.

Sir Robert now joined de Montfort and besieged Auray, and the garrison desiring terms, Sir Robert was appointed to conduct the negotiations. We next find him at the fateful battle of Auray.

1364 De Montfort was for attacking the French, who had entrenched themselves in an open plain on the opposite side of a small river; but de Clisson urged circumspection, and said that "Charles of Blois had come there for a battle, and depend upon it he would come out and attack the English if the latter only waited until next day." Knolles supported the Count, though he said "nevertheless, if the French, who were now fatigued, were *outside* their entrenchment he should urge an instant assault for they were two to one." The next day Charles, by the advice of the Count of Auxerre and other Knights, did exactly as Clisson had foretold. With banners flying he left his camp, crossed the river, and attacked the English position.

Sir Robert and his old friend Sir Walter Hewitt found themselves opposite the French battalion commanded by Bertrand du Guesclin. They had a very hard tussle, and it was all they could do to hold their own. They made no headway until towards the close of the day when Sir John Chandos was able to come to their assistance and overwhelm the enemy. Sir Robert

is said to have taken the Count of Auxerre prisoner, and to have performed prodigies of valour.[32] After the battle he, with Sir John Chandos and Sir Hugh Calveley, waited on John de Montfort and congratulated him on the decisive victory which had given him the Duchy of Brittany after twenty-five years of warfare. During those years no one had borne a greater share in the struggle than Sir Robert Knolles, and to him

1364 de Montfort granted the lands of Derval and Rougé in Brittany with 2000 livres of rent in the island of Conq, and henceforth Knolles was known as the Sire or Lord of Derval.[33] Here he seems to have resided for some time, and he does not appear to have gone with Calveley to Spain to fight for Henry the Bastard. On receiving a summons from the Prince of

1367 Wales,[34] however, Sir Robert with a select portion of the "Great Company" joined the Prince in his expedition to Spain[35] (*vide* Calveley), and at the battle of Navaretta, he seems quite to have turned the fortunes of the day by his vigorous onslaught on the troops who were hard pressing the Duke of Lancaster and Sir John Chandos.[36]

[32] The Author of the "Eulogium Historiarum" (Rolls Series), III., 236. says the victory was won "mediante Dei auxilio et domini Johannis de Chaundos, et præcipue domini Roberti Knollis."

[33] The Lord of Derval had been taken prisoner by the English at the battle of Poictiers, and it is a curious fact that he was imprisoned for some years at Pontefract, so that Knolles' wife (who came from that town) had probably often seen the owner of the lands which she and her husband afterwards enjoyed.

[34] Chandos Herald distinctly says that Knolles came from Brittany to join the Prince, and his name is not in the letter of warning sent to Chandos by the King (*vide* Calveley) with reference to the first expedition. He doubtless stayed at Derval to look after his new property.

[35] He crossed the Pyrenees with the Third division on February 17th.

[36] "Super hos (*i.e.* Lancaster and Chandos) pondus belli stetit, super hos Sarazenica phalanx incubuit, super hos Hispanorum innumera multitudo diu sævit. Sed tandem superveniente domino Roberto Knollis,

After this expedition he returned again to Derval and
1368 was residing there when he heard of the Prince of Wales' expedition in Aquitaine. Collecting some sixty men-at-arms and the same number of archers from his own estate and those of friends near at hand, he embarked on four large vessels at Conquet and sailed for La Rochelle, "where the inhabitants gave him a grand entertainment, much against their inclinations, but they could not do otherwise." Resting for two days, he started for Angoulême, where the "Prince and Princess were exceedingly pleased to see Sir Robert, and it seemed they could not do enough to show it. The Prince appointed him Captain of the Knights and Squires of his household, out of love to him, and as a reward for his valour and honour. He ordered them to pay the same obedience as to himself, which they promised willingly to do." [37] After five days he set out in command of a small force of some sixty men-at-arms, five hundred archers, and five hundred foot soldiers. Reaching Agen he halted for five days and heard that Sir Perducas d'Albret, a well-known captain of the Free Companies, with some hundreds of men under him, had, at the persuasion of the Duke of Anjou, gone over to the French side. Sir Robert at once sent a herald and arranged a meeting with Sir Perducas, and argued and talked the matter over so ably, that Sir Perducas with five hundred Gascons came over to the English side, and remained a faithful ally. We shall meet with this Gascon later in London.

cum electa gente quæ eum secuta fuerat, et nostra pars augetur et animatur, et pars adversa debilitatur et terretur. Tunc retrocedunt Hispani, currunt Saraceni, et ad inferna properant per centenos. *Chronicon Angliæ* (Rolls Series), p. 59. An excellent account of the battle is in *Oman's* "Art of War—The Middle Ages," p. 642.

[37] *Froissart.*

Sir Robert next besieged the Priory of Durmel, which was well fortified, but after suffering severely by the rainy weather and want of provisions, he raised the siege at the end of five weeks, and made for the town and castle of Domme in Perigord. Meanwhile he had been joined by Sir John Chandos and a large accession of English soldiers. Domme proved too strong a place, and the expedition then confined itself to retaking some of the smaller places, which had lately turned French owing to pressure from the Duke de Berri. Gramat, Roquemadour, Villefranche, and many other places were regained, and much suffering inflicted on the poor inhabitants of the district; except at Villefranche, where the fighting lasted four days, the casualties were not large.

The Prince now sent a messenger recalling Sir John Chandos, Sir Thomas Felton, and the Captal de Buch, and ordering Sir Robert and the Free Companies to continue the war. On telling Sir Robert the orders they had received, he seems to have been somewhat nettled at losing such valuable support at such a critical time, and replied: "My Lords, His Highness the Prince does me more honour than I could wish. Know that I will never remain here without you, and that if you go, I will not stay behind."[38] The Knights thereupon rejoined the Prince at Angoulême, and Sir Robert's connection with the expedition came to an end, and he seems to have retired in some dudgeon to his estate in Brittany.[39]

[38] *Froissart.*

[39] Sir Perducas d'Albret, however, garrisoned Roquemadan, while the Companies under their own leaders continued to ravage Limousin and Auvergne.

Sir Robert seems to have done a little trading on his own account, for a Royal warrant orders every protection to be given to his two ships, the "George" of London and the cog "Thomas" of Brittany. They brought him provisions and munitions of war, and doubtless took back many a cask of wine for sale.[40]

1370

Sir Robert was with the troops under the Earl of Pembroke, who proceeded to raise the siege of Belleperche, and after spending a fortnight there, he again retired for a short period to his castle of Derval; but he had not been there a month before he received an urgent summons to England. Taking ship at once, he landed at St. Michael's Mount, and rode to Windsor.

And now Sir Robert found himself at the zenith of his career, for the King had determined on a fresh expedition to Brittany, and had appointed Knolles to the chief command. He was retained for two years from the Nativity of St. John the Baptist in 1370, with 2,000 men-at-arms and 2,000 archers.[41] He was to have for two years the profits of such places as he secured and conquered for the King. He was not altogether independent, for associated with him were Sir Alan Buxhall, the Lord Grandson, and Sir John Bouchier.[42] They pledged themselves to act together, and to share, *pro rata*, according to the number of men provided by each. Various other Knights also accompanied him, having all pledged themselves to act together, and to

[40] *Rymer.*

[41] None of the men were to be raised out of Northumberland, Durham, or Westmoreland. This was from fear of a Scottish invasion.

[42] This limitation of Sir Robert's powers is unnoticed by other writers.

obey orders.[43] These pledges must be noticed in the light of subsequent events.

The army was composed of:

The Leader, who received		£1 6s. 8d.	per diem
Bannerets	,,	8s.	,,
Knights	,,	4s. and 3s.	,,
Archers	,,	12d.	,,
Hobelars	,,	5d.	,,
Engineers of War Ships,		6d.	,,

As for the ships necessary to transport these troops, we find them collected from all parts: Berwick-on-Tweed, the Channel Islands, from the mouth of the Thames to Yarmouth and Lynn, Holland and Zeeland, Southampton, Devon, and Cornwall, all provided for the "passage of Robert Knolles and his retinue to Normandy." On July 18th the King ordered William Lord Latimer, the Steward of the King's household, to proceed to "Winchelsea and La Rye, to superintend the passage of Robert de Knolles and his retinue, and for the reviewing and sending of his men-at-arms and archers to France," and allowed £25 for expenses; and John Lord de Neville, Admiral of the Fleet, was sent to northern parts on the same business.

The amount paid for shipping from English and Channel Island ports was £2,242 14s. 5d. (each master receiving 6d. and each mariner 3d. per day). The Zeeland and Holland boats received £965 8s.; and the guard of soldiers for the ships going and returning cost £341 7s.

It is difficult to arrive at the numbers of the troops. In addition to Welsh archers there was a special de-

[43] *Rymer's* "Fœdera," July 8th and 10th, 1370, and Oct. 29th, 1372.

tachment of one hundred Scotch archers; and *Holinshed* estimates the whole at 12,000 men. *Froissart*, however, gives 1,500 spears and 4,000 archers. The naval accounts just quoted show that no less than 8,464 horses were taken. The whole fleet and army mustered at Winchelsea and Rye, and began to cross about August 3rd, Sir Robert being one of the last to sail.

"When this army had lain and rested in Calais about the space of seven days, Sir Robert Knolles caused every man to depart the town and to take to the fields, marching the first day near to the castle of Fiennes, and then lodged for the night." All the towns in Picardy, however, were well garrisoned and provisioned, and the Constable of France himself (who well knew how dangerous a foe Knolles could be) was in Fiennes, so that the English dare not attack these strongholds, but passed through Tournai towards Arras, "riding not past four leagues a day, because of their carriages and footmen. They took their lodging ever about noon, and lay near unto the great villages." They burnt the suburbs of Arras and the town of Roy, but the population to a man had fled into the fortresses, so that the English found "little abroad saving the barnes full of corn, for it was then harvest. So they rode fair and easily, two or three leagues a day, and sometime to recover money of their enemies, they would compound with them within the strong towns, to spare the country from burning and destruction for such a sum as they agreed upon, by which means Sir Robert Knolles got in that voyage above the sum of a hundred thousand francs. For the which he was afterwards accused to the King of England as one that had not dealt justly in so doing."

The army pressed on, and on the 13th of September arrived before Paris, and "lodged there in the field a day and two nights, and showed themselves in order of battle before the City." The French King saw the smoke and fire arising from the burnt villages, but he declined to risk an engagement, and "would suffer none of his people to go forth of his city, so that Sir Robert Knolles was forced to march towards Anjou, where he assaulted and took the towns of Waas and Ruelly." Sir Robert now determined to withdraw his forces and winter in Brittany, but dissensions arose amongst the English, and Sir Robert "could not rule them. There was a Knight among them named Sir John Minsterworth, that had the leading of one wing of this army, a good man of his hands, as we call him, but perverse of mind and very deceitful, and to Sir Robert Knolles, to whom he was much beholden, most unfaithful. This Knight perceiving the wilful minds of certain young lords and knights there in the army, that repined at the government of Sir Robert Knolles, as the Romans did sometime at the governance of Camillus (the chief of them were these, the Lord Grantson, the Lord Fitzwater, and others), did his best to pricke them forward, sounding them in the ear that it was a great reproach for them being of noble parentage to serve under such an old rascall[44] as he was, each of them being able to guide their enterprize of themselves without his consent."[45]

However, Sir Robert, following his own good sense and sound military reasoning, retired, with the flower of the archers and men-at-arms, to his estates in Brittany, and so "saved himself and those that followed

[44] *Brigand* was the term used, "quem vespilionem veterem appellavit."

[45] *Holinshed.*

him."[46] He was no sooner out of the way, than Bertrand du Guesclin (who feared no one so much as Knolles) swooped down upon the malcontents, and nearly the whole of them were slain or taken prisoners. Sir John Minsterworth, escaping with difficulty, reached England, and laid all the blame on Sir Robert Knolles, "accusing him to the King of heinous treason, so that the King took no small displeasure against the said Sir Robert Knolles." The King is said to have withdrawn some of the grants he had given Knolles.

Whether this be true or not, Knolles saw that things looked black against him, and, with his usual diplomacy, sent over two Esquires to explain matters to the King; and having already discovered that "If money go before, all else do follow," he sent the King a present of 10,000 marks in gold by the hand of Lord Latimer, who seems to have embezzled 8,000, and passed the rest on to the King.[47]

In addition, Sir Alan Buxhall and other friends at Court took care to present things in a proper light, and finally Sir John Minsterworth was called upon formally to justify his accusations; but he could not do

[46] He seems at one time to have thought of giving battle to du Guesclin, for he summoned Calveley from Saumur-sur-Loire to help him (*vide* Calveley), and Grandson to rejoin him. The latter, however, suffered defeat before the forces could unite, and the effort came to nothing.

[47] This formed one of the charges brought by Parliament against Lord Latimer in 1376. "Item, cum dominus Robertus de Knolles incurrisset iram regiam pro minus prospere gesta militia in regno Franciæ, quod non sibi debet ascribi sed suorum indisciplinatæ inobedientiæ et superbiæ, idem dominus Robertus, pro obtinenda pace regia, de decem millibus marcarum, per manus ejusdem domini de Latimer, eidem domino regi finem fecit; de quibus quidem decem millibus marcarum constat dominum regem habuisse nisi solum duo millia, ut asserere thesaurarius est paratus. Et sic patet eum dominum regem de octo millibus marcarum defraudasse." *Chronicon Angliæ*, p. 78.

so, and fled to France, and became a traitor to his country.[48]

The expedition undoubtedly inflicted heavy losses on the French, and brought corresponding gains to Sir Robert, whose name became more feared than ever in France. *Lambarde*, the Kentish historian, says that having risen "from a common soldier to a most commendable Captain," he was sent "General of an army to France, and there (in despite of all their power) drove the people like sheep before him, wasting, burning, and destroying Towns, Castles, Churches, Monasteries, and Cities, in such wise and number that long after, in memorie of his act, the sharp points and gable ends of overthrown houses and minsters were called Knolles' mitres."

While some soldiers, like Sir John Minsterworth, were leaving Knolles, others were flocking to his standard; for his fame, and the love of adventure inherent in the Englishman of the time, were great attractions, as the following extract shows. It is from a metrical version of the "History of the Stanleys, Earls of Derby," supposed to have been written about 1562, by Thomas Stanley, Bishop of Sodor and Man, and son of Sir Edward Stanley, who, for his valour at Flodden, was created Lord Monteagle.[49] The subject of the extract was Sir John Stanley of Hooton, famous for his prowess, and as the recipient from the King of the manors

[48] At a later period he was captured at Pampeluna, brought to England, accused of embezzling monies due to his troops in times past, was found guilty, and was hung, drawn, and quartered. So perished Knolles' great enemy.

[49] The poem has been published in *Halliwell's* "Palatine Anthology," p. 214.

of "Wing, Tring, and Ivinghoe," in Buckinghamshire.[50] After relating the Knight's adventures in Turkey and other countries, the poet says:

"Yeat I forgot on thing of Sir John Standley,
In his return homeward he hard people saie
How that Sir Robert Knowlesse with great defiaunce,
Newe come foorth of England had invaded Fraunce
With a jolly companye of Englishmen.
Sir John Standley left the righte way homeward then
And repaired to Knowlesse with good speadie harte,
And manfully did take the Englishmens parte.
This Knowlesse was but litle and verye hardie,
And did service to his prince very notablye.
They burnt castells and townes and made foule araye,
Which be called Knowlesse Myters yeat to this daye.
They passed by Paris in battell aray,
And without notable battle came theire way.
When they had donne theire feates they ventured for,
They returned to theire King with much honor,
And then that gentle prince King Henry the Fourth[51]
Did so welcome them home to theire greate comfforte,
And gave them such praise and honourable laude,
That they thought their service never so well bestowde."

And later we find that he:

"Went to courte and renewed his acquaintance all.
Then Henry the Fourth did send him by and by
With the Earl of Worcestre, Sir Thomas Percye,
Which Earle of the King's Army was cheeftaine,
And sent them to the contrey of Acquitayne,
To aide Sir Robert Knowles, lievetenant being,
Where they did notable service to the King.
Thus they came home and their actes were excellent,
And the King welcomed them with good intente."

Not good poetry I fear, but very interesting history.

[50] Whence Sir Walter Scott took the name of "Ivanhoe."

[51] *Edward* in "Palatine Anthology," but this must be a mistake.

In this year Sir Robert, with Sir Thomas Spencer,
1371 Sir John Trivet, and Sir Hugh Hastings, dividing their troops, did a great deal of plundering in various quarters; and then the Duke of Lancaster appointed Sir Robert to be Governor of Calais, and to recover Ponthieu on the way if he could. And "because in comparison to this man all the English Captains were little feared of the Frenchmen," the Constable of France at once left Aquitaine, and hung on the rear and flanks of Sir Robert's forces, and many were slain on both sides in numerous skirmishes. At last Sir Robert seeing no likelihood of recovering the towns in Ponthieu, marched straight to Calais, and the Constable retired again into Aquitaine.

The French this year defeated the English both on
1372 sea and land. The Earl of Pembroke, the great Captal de Buch, and Sir Thomas Percy were made prisoners, and it seemed as if the whole of Poitou would be lost to England. The Duke of Brittany leaned towards the English side during these mishaps, but his subjects by no means approved of his policy, and fearing the consequences, he sent for aid to England.

French gold had won over many of the Breton Knights, but there was one who was impervious to bribes of this sort, and who hated a Frenchman as much as Lord Nelson did, and that one was Sir Robert Knolles. He joined the force which was sent under Lord Nevill to Brittany, but on the approach of a
1373 large French army under du Guesclin, Knolles advised the Duke of Brittany to run over to England and ask for further help. The Duke assented, and nominated Knolles as Governor of his Duchy

during his absence, and sailed to England from Concarneau.

Having now got a free hand, Sir Robert brought his military genius to bear upon the situation. He had few English soldiers, and very few of the Breton Lords would obey him, and he found it therefore impossible to give battle in the open field to the Constable of France. But he strengthened and reinforced all the castles, especially his own castle of Derval, which he left in charge of his relation, Sir Hugh Browe.[52] He sent his trusted lieutenant, Sir Thomas Prior, to Hennebon, and then with two other lieutenants (Millebourne and Robert de Neuville) retired to Brest, where he not only had a strong well-garrisoned town, but was supported on the sea by the fleet under the Earl of Salisbury. In due course the French assaulted the town, and in order to annoy Sir Robert Knolles, they

[52] Sir Hugh Browe, sometimes called Broc or Bright, or (in French) Broces. We have here another interesting Cheshire soldier. He is said by some writers to have been a nephew of Sir Robert Knolles, and by others a cousin. Sir Robert addresses him by the latter title, but it was a title of courtesy in those days, and is not authoritative. The name of Browe first occurs as landed proprietors 1295, at Tushingham, on the Shropshire border. They were of no great family, and therefore it is possible they were related to Knolles. Browe's management at Derval does not show much skill or courage. He accompanied Knolles and Calveley in the Duke of Gloucester's expedition in 1380. He was exempted from serving on Juries 1386-7 (10 Ric. II.), and the same year had letters of protection on going abroad on King's service in retinue of the Earl of Arundel. In 1399, November 21st, we find the King's writ to "Hugh Browe Kt. . . . and other hereditary gentlemen and yeomen of the hundred of Broxton," setting forth that complaints had reached him from the people of Shropshire and Flintshire, of those who had committed robberies in those counties finding refuge in the said hundred, and commanding the said Hugh Browe and others mentioned in King Richard's letters appointing them conservators of the peace in the said hundred, to take measures to remove all cause of complaint in future (*Morris*, "Chester during the Plantagenet and Tudor Periods," p. 28). In 1401-2 he appears in a deed in connection with Knolles' College at Pontefract. Sir Hugh purchased a good deal of land, but forfeited his estates to

also sent a small force to invest his castle of Derval. Sir Robert sat tight in Brest, and inflicted severe repulses on the besiegers, and the bulk of them at last set out for Derval, leaving behind a blockading force of 2,000 men.

Now Sir Hugh Browe, at Derval, seeing himself attacked by so huge a force under no less a captain than the Constable of France, proposed a truce of two months, and promised that if within that time Derval was not relieved he would deliver up the castle. To this the Duke of Anjou agreed, stipulating that during the truce no one should be received into the castle. Sir Hugh Browe sent several Knights and Esquires as his hostages for the performance of the treaty.

When Sir Robert heard this news about Derval, he made a masterly move. Knowing that he could not

Henry IV. for rebellion, between June 12th and August 15th, 1403, in which short interval he must have died. He had a daughter, who married Richard Ball in 1392-3. *Lysons* says his arms were the same as Knolles', and adds: "His name occurs in some family conveyances relating to the Calveley estate. See 'Woodnoth's Collections,' p. 25, and in p. 101, the seal of Sir Hugh Browe, with his arms as before described. . . . It is remarkable that although they do not follow alphabetically, the arms of Calveley, Browe, and Knolles are placed together in some collections of Cheshire Arms, in the Herald's College" (*Lysons*' "Cheshire," 545). I have examined the Woodnoth MS. in the Brit. Mus., and find on p. 45 an abstract of a conveyance from Hugh de Browe to William de Beeston and Isabella his wife; and Sir Hugh Browe's arms on his seal, as "tricked" in the margin, are the same as Sir Robert Knolles', viz.: *Three roses on a chevron.* The crest, however, looks more like a horse's than a ram's head. On p. 44 we find the same arms (minus the crest) attributed to David Bykeleigh, who, with his wife, conveys land to Sir Hugh Browe. Then immediately below this we have the *same arms* within "*a bordure bezantée*" (exactly as at Sculthorpe Church, see *infra*) attributed to Sir David de Bykeleigh! I think therefore that, without attaching too much importance to *Woodnoth's* jumble of antiquarian notes and heraldry, there can be little doubt that Knolles and Browe (and perhaps Buckley) were related to one another.

leave Brest while there was any fighting to be done there, he proposed to the French that there should be a truce for forty days, and if within that time a sufficient relieving force did not arrive, the town of Brest should be surrendered. The French eagerly agreed, and had hostages sent. But the wily Sir Robert had not the slightest intention of giving up the town. He knew perfectly well (what Bertrand du Guesclin did *not* know) that the Earl of Salisbury (who had been cruising all that season on the coast of Brittany) had been greatly reinforced by ships and soldiers, and was close at hand. A call to the Earl brought him speedily before Brest, where every day he landed his troops before the town,[53] and defied the French to advance. At the end of the forty days the Earl entered the town, and the French withdrew, taking with them Knolles' hostages. This act cannot be justified, for the English had broken no promise. The French had simply been outwitted by Sir Robert, who, having got rid of the fighting at Brest, hastened to Derval.

How he managed to get into the castle we do not know, but he sent to tell the Duke of Anjou and du Guesclin that Browe's treaty was waste paper, for he had no authority to enter into it without his, Sir Robert's, knowledge and consent. The day having passed on which the castle should have been given up, a French herald was sent to demand the reason of non-compliance with the treaty. Sir Robert said, "Herald, you will tell your masters that my cousin had no authority to enter into any capitulation or treaty without my consent first had; and you will now return with this answer from me." The herald came back to

[53] He could not enter it until the forty days of the treaty had elapsed.

say that from the tenor of the treaty they ought not to have received anyone into the fort, and that they had received Sir Robert Knolles, which they should not have done; and if the castle were not surrendered the hostages would be beheaded. Sir Robert replied: "By God, Herald, I will not lose my castle for fear of the menaces of your lords, and if the Duke of Anjou puts my friends to death, I will retaliate, for I have in prison several knights and squires of France,[54] and if I were offered one hundred thousand francs I would not show mercy to any one of them." When the herald had delivered this answer, the Duke of Anjou (on the advice of Oliver de Clisson say some writers, others say against the advice and solicitation of his chief officers) ordered the hostages to be brought forth and beheaded before the castle, so that those within might see and know them. Sir Robert instantly ordered a scaffold to be made outside a window of the castle, and led there four of his prisoners (three knights and an esquire), and had them beheaded and flung into the ditch.[55] Then suddenly lowering the drawbridge he sallied out on the French, and after severely wounding Oliver de Clisson withdrew again into the castle with comparatively little loss. And now, although Sir

[54] They had probably been unable to pay their ransoms, for Sir Robert was a keen man of business. It was considered improper to fix a ransom higher than the rank of the captured person would warrant, and on one occasion a French esquire remonstrated with Sir Robert, and said that the amount of his ransom was excessive. Sir Robert asked him if he had not been at a certain skirmish in which the French were successful. The Esquire answered in the affirmative. "Then," said Sir Robert, "I know that every one of you got great plunder on that occasion, and you are quite able to pay the sum I ask."

[55] It is impossible to assess the right and wrong of this matter, for we have not the particulars. The Duke of Anjou probably did not believe that there were any prisoners in Derval; and he certainly did not "know his man."

Robert had brought no reinforcement except himself, the Duke of Anjou and du Guesclin raised the siege, and the French evacuated the neighbourhood.[56] Such was the terror Sir Robert's presence inspired.

Nothing shows his consummate craft and skill, as well as the fear in which he was held, so much as this incident of the siege of Derval.

1374 Towards the end of this year he was in Aquitaine, and captured Niort.

1377 He accompanied the English fleet which put to sea to attack the Spaniards at Sluys, but severe storms separated and sunk some of the ships, and the expedition returned without result.

1378 He again went to Brittany with the Duke of Lancaster, and must have been an eye-witness of the gallant repulse of the French galleys by Sir Hugh Calveley. On landing Sir Robert burnt some of the neighbouring villages, but not without severe loss to his own side.

He again commanded at Brest; and while there the French sought to take him by a stratagem, but, warned by spies, he forestalled them. "They fell into the pit that they made," says *Walsingham*, and eighty of them were captured and imprisoned.

The Earl of Buckingham now cheered him up by sending him a hundred casks of the best wine, which he had recently captured from the Spaniards. Later, Sir Robert joined the Earl, and was with him at the

[56] At the same time it is right to add, that the French King had been urging them to leave the siege in order that they might attack the Duke of Lancaster, who was marching through France. With the latter was Sir Hugh Calveley.

siege of Rennes, and took a leading part in all the negotiations with the troublesome Duke of Brittany (*vide* Calveley). He also captured the Earl of Mauvoisin in a skirmish.

After this campaign he returned to England in April 1381, and we next find him guarding his house in London with six score men against Wat Tyler and his followers. Now we may be sure that it was not *fear* that kept the Knight at home. He probably had a great deal of valuable property, and as the crowd was very large (about 50,000) and had already burnt the Duke of Lancaster's palace of the Savoy and many other buildings, Sir Robert doubtless thought it well to remain on the spot, and see how events shaped, for London was completely overawed. Added to this, I think Knolles had no affection whatever for the Duke of Lancaster, and was not likely to give him or his adherents any active help.

1381

On Thursday, June 13th, the state of affairs was very critical. The King was an untried stripling; the Duke of Lancaster was in Scotland; many of the Londoners were known to be in sympathy with the insurgents; and the King's ministers were impotent and stupid to a degree.[57] The King, who was practically besieged in the Tower, held a Council in the evening of this day, and especially sent for Sir Robert and asked his advice.[58] Knolles evidently considered that the mob was too strong to be attacked at once, and must be temporized with until arrangements could be made for crushing them. He proposed to issue a Proclamation

[57] Why no effort was made to call upon and arm the loyal citizens is inexplicable.

[58] He lived close by, and the mob would scarcely dare to impede his passage when accompanied by a *posse* of well-armed retainers.

stating that the Duke of Lancaster was coming against the King and the crowd with 20,000 Scots, and that the crowd had better therefore congregate in Smithfield, and that the King would come to them there.[59]

The Earl of Salisbury was also for pacific measures. He seems to have been afraid of the result of street fighting, for said he "should we begin what we cannot get through, we shall never be able to recover it."[60]

On the other hand, the Lord Mayor, William Walworth (who was decidedly a man of action), urged that they should arm the citizens, and "during the night fall upon these wretches . . . . while they were asleep and drunk, for then they might be killed like flies, and not one in twenty among them had arms."[61]

The advice of Knolles and Salisbury prevailed, and on the following morning the King rode to Mile End to meet the insurgents, accompanied by Sir Robert and other knights. He temporized with the mob, and hearing that the Tower was in the hands of Wat Tyler, he returned, accompanied again by Sir Robert, to the Queen's Wardrobe[62] near St. Paul's, whither his mother had gone in dire fear and consternation.

The next morning (Saturday, June 15th) the King rode to meet the insurgents at Smithfield. Walworth was with him, but *not* Sir Robert Knolles. Then occurred the incident of Walworth striking down

[59] *Eulogium Historiarum* (Rolls Series), III., 353, says the Proclamation was issued on the Saturday. The Londoners were split into two parties; one under Bramber, a grocer (some say a draper), for the King, and the other under Northampton, a draper, for the Duke of Lancaster. Knolles was shrewd enough to know that the mob was much more inclined to cling to the King than the Duke.

[60] & [61] *Froissart.*

[62] In Carter Lane.

Wat Tyler. Having done that, the Lord Mayor rode off to the City, and called upon the citizens to come to the rescue of the King.

"Several of the Aldermen with six hundred men-at-arms, and a powerful man of the City called Nicholas Bramber, the King's draper,[63] who brought up a large force," and many other of the leading citizens responded to the call and set out for Smithfield. On the way they met Sir Robert Knolles and his old friend Sir Perducas d'Albret,[64] with their respective retainers, and at the request of Walworth, Sir Robert took the supreme military command of the whole body.

"Now I behold," says *Fuller*, "aged Sir Robert buckling on his armour as old Priam at the taking of Troy, but with far better success as proving very victorious."

Arriving at Smithfield, Knolles skilfully deployed his troops so as to completely envelop the mob,[65] and then sought permission from the King to attack, and flew "into a violent rage"[66] when he found the King still preferred pacific measures. The King's will prevailed,

[63] Later investigation, I believe, shows that he was a grocer.

[64] He seems to have been living in London at this time with a numerous retinue.

[65] "Like sheep in a pen," says an old chronicler (*Oman*, p. 202).

[66] So *Froissart*; and I believe his narrative. The author of the *Eulogium* gives the following account: "The King asked Robert Knolles 'aren't these people going to be slaughtered'? and he answered, 'No, Sire! for many of these poor things have come here against their will.' Then Knolles shouted to the mob, 'Fall on your knees, you wretches, loose your bowstrings, and depart. Let no one remain this night in the City or in its vicinity, under pain of losing his head,' and immediately they all fled." Our knowledge of the two men points to *Froissart's* version as the correct one. Not that Knolles was bloodthirsty, but, as a soldier, he would wish to thoroughly suppress the rebellion, when he saw his armed force could do it.

and his wonderful coolness and tact, together with the display of troops, cowed the insurgents, and that day saw the end of the rebellion in London.[67]

In the selections from the Letter-book of the City of London, we have a valuable account of the scene, which concludes: "The Mayor himself, who had gone into the City at the instance of our Lord the King, in the space of half an hour sent and led forth therefrom so great a force of citizen warriors in aid of his Lord the King, that the whole multitude of madmen was surrounded and hemmed in; and not one of them would have escaped, if our Lord the King had not commanded them to be gone."[68] *Walsingham* says the troops from the city numbered one thousand; but *Oman* says 6,000 or 7,000.[69] In any case, they mustered strongly, and it seems difficult to believe that they could have been got together in half-an-hour by the Lord Mayor, who was not at all a popular man.

Now Knolles did not accompany the King to Smithfield. What was he doing all the morning? There can be little doubt that he had been quietly arming and organizing the citizens, by arrangement with the Lord Mayor, and that their meeting was preconcerted, though perhaps slightly accelerated by the unexpected death

[67] In one of *Froissart's* MSS. is the following addition: "Sir Robert de Namur, Sir Robert Knolles, and Sir Perducas d'Albreth were very angry that these wicked people so easily escaped, for they had put the town into great alarm for three days. Sir Henry de Sauselles, a young Knight from Hainault who had accompanied Sir Robert de Namur, asked why some revenge was not had for having kept the town in such alarm. Sir Robert, upon this, asked him if he had been frightened; 'Yes, by God was I, very much; why should I conceal it? and was not you'? 'No, by my troth I was not; but if the King had not been here with us, we should have run great risk.'"

[68] "Memorials of London," *Riley*, p. 451.

[69] "The Great Revolt," p. 77.

of Wat Tyler. It is noticeable that *Froissart* states that after the death of Tyler, the Lord Mayor said, "I reckon we shall very soon receive assistance from London, that is, from our good friends who are prepared and armed, with all their servants in their houses." And from another source we are told that "while they hastened to Smithfield, the Mayor ordered the city to arm and follow Robert Knolles."[70]

Once more had the old Knight given a proof of his powers of silent crafty preparation, and by his sound military judgment and skill had saved the City from imminent danger.

That same night (June 15th) the King issued a commission empowering the Lord Mayor, Sir Robert Knolles, and Aldermen Philpott and Bramber to proceed against and arrest any malefactor "not only by the law of the land but, if necessary, by other ways and means. If it pleased them they might go so far as beheading and mutilation."[71]

We can imagine the grim pleasure with which Sir Robert would set about holding this "drum-head court-martial," and in a short space of time Jack Straw and other leaders were beheaded and many followers thrown into prison; but on the whole the malcontents were treated with great leniency, considering the damage they had done, and it is evident Sir Robert entertained no very extreme ideas.

For his great services to the Lord Mayor and citizens Sir Robert Knolles received the Freedom of the City

[70] *Eulogium Historiarum*, III., 353.

[71] "Vel secundum legem Angliæ, vel aliis viis et modis, per decollationes et membrorum mutilationes." *Oman*, "The Great Revolt of 1381," p. 81.

of London; and a further proof of the gratitude of the citizens is shown in the following interesting document, still in the Corporation archives:[72]

Grant of leave to build a Hautpas, to Sir Robert Knolles, and Constance, his wife. 5 Richard II., A.D. 1381. (Original in Norman-French).

"To all persons who these present letters shall see or hear, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, of the City of London, greeting. Know ye, that we have granted unto Messire Robert Knolles, Knight, our dear and well beloved fellow-citizen, and to Custance, his wife, leave to make a Hautpas,[73] of the height of 14 feet, extending from the house of the said Messire Robert and Custance, his wife, on the West side thereof, to another house to them belonging, on the East side thereof, beyond the lane of Syuendenlane[74] in the Parish of All Hallows Berkyngchirche, near to the Tower of London; to have and to hold the same unto them, the said Messire Robert and Custance, his wife, their heirs and assigns, for ever: they rendering yearly unto the Chamberlain of the Guildhall of the said City, for the time being, on behalf of the said Commonalty, one red rose, at the Feast of St. John the Baptist (24th June), called the 'Nativity.' In Witness whereof, to these Letters Patent the Common Seal of the said City is set, Messire William Walworthe, Knight, being then Mayor of the said City of London, and Walter Doget, and William Knyghtcote, Sheriffs of the same City. Given at London, the 23rd day of July, in the 5th year of the reign of King Richard the Second, etc."

Nor was this the only time that Sir Robert was of service to the Londoners, for later on (1384) sedition again became rampant in the City, owing to the socialistic teaching of a former Lord Mayor. On the advice

[72] "Memorials of London," *Riley*, p. 452.

[73] Or "halpace"; a room or floor raised on pillars underneath, and extending into and, in this case, across the street. *Custance* is an old form of *Constance*.

[74] Now Seething Lane. It escaped the Fire; and here dwelt another celebrated but more talkative householder, viz., Mr. Samuel Pepys.

of Sir Robert Knolles, one John Constantyne, a shoemaker, the principal ringleader, was taken and promptly beheaded, and the insurrection speedily died down.[75]

Having made a vow to go to Rome,[76] he had a license for himself and twelve persons, and for what money he would by bill of exchange, and to stay there as long as he would, with the protection of his lands, tenants, and servants during his absence. 1389-90

Sir Robert must now have been about seventy-five years old, and travelling and fighting days being done, he settled down on his estate at Sculthorpe, in Norfolk, to spend the remainder of his life in "peace and plenty." He is said to have been made Lieutenant of Guienne in 1400, but this was probably only an honorary appointment.

At last, on August 15th, 1407, Sir Robert Knolles died at his manor of Sculthorpe, Norfolk, aged (according to *Blomfield*) ninety-two years.[77] It is certain that he cannot have been much less. By his own special request he was buried by the side of his wife, and amidst many other notable persons, in the Church of the White Friars, London, to which Church he had been a generous donor.[78]

[75] *Thomas of Walsingham* alone states this, and doubtless had it from Knolles himself. The King approved of the execution, and gave the citizens an indemnity for it.

[76] He doubtless wanted to see the College which he had founded jointly with Calveley and Hawkwood.

[77] *Fuller* says he was born about 1317. *Blomfield* therefore is probably right. *Grafton* says he died in London.

[78] *Fabyan* says: "He died shortly after he had newly re-edified the body of the White Friars Church standing in Flete strete, and done to that house many notable benefits." *Weever* says: "Sir Robert Knolles was a great builder here."

Dissolved at the Reformation, this religious house was allowed to go to ruin, until every vestige disappeared. Over the grave of this "hero of a hundred fights" thunders a power mightier than the sword of the old warrior, for the printing press and daily paper have taken the place of the friars and their church.[79]

In person Knolles was the very antithesis of Sir Hugh Calveley. He was a "little man," though "very hardy,"[80] and according to Chandos Herald "a man of few words";[81] but when he *did* speak he seems to have been able to use his tongue to advantage, as witness his successful persuasion of Sir Perducas d'Albret to leave the French King and revert to his English alliance. Again, in his management of that nobleman, of the King of England, and of affairs at Brest, he shows diplomacy and skill of a high order. That he was courageous to a degree goes without saying, but, in addition, he was cool, crafty,[82] and calculating, and it was these qualities, allied to his undeniable military genius, that made him so great a soldier.[83] For he was a real general. He knew when to retreat as well as advance. His capture of Bertrand du Guesclin, his

[79] *Besant* says ("London," p. 98): "South of Fleet Street, between Bridewell Palace and the Temple, was the House of the Carmelites, called the White Friars." After the Dissolution the district retained the privilege of Sanctuary, and became the Alsatia so celebrated by Scott and other writers.

[80] See *Stanley's* Poem, *supra*.

[81] "Si fuist Monsieur Robert de Knolles
Qui neust une trop de parolles";
from a poem on "The Black Prince," by *Chandos Herald*, published by the Roxburgh Society. This Herald of Sir John Chandos must have met Knolles scores of times.

[82] So *Thomas of Otterbourne* says: "Dominus Robertus Knollis cum exercitu . . . . regnum Franciæ potenter intrans Castella fortissima nunc vi, nunc *cautelis subtilissimis*, conquisivit."

[83] *Froissart* says he was "the most able and skilful man of arms in all the Companies."

great raid through France, and his two masterly retirements at night from untenable positions, show strategy of no ordinary kind.[84] He always strove to be in the best position for striking a blow, as in the Wat Tyler outbreak, and then struck sharply and decisively; but if he felt himself insecure he would retire quietly to a fortress, and nothing could tempt him out of it. He was just and liberal to his soldiers, and shared their quarters and privations.

As for the fear he inspired, it was proverbial. He was the "true demon of war"; the "egregius bellator"; and the one soldier who could draw Bertrand du Guesclin out of a city, or compel him to retire into it. He was feared in France more than any other General.

That he was a thorough "soldier of fortune," and had nothing else to depend upon, made him perhaps exacting in his demands upon places which he captured; but with all his "brigandage," let us not forget that he was always a true Englishman. He did not, like Sir John Hawkwood, sell his sword to a foreigner; he did not, like many Breton landowners, take bribes from France. For nearly forty years his sword was out of its sheath, but it was always on the side of England, for "his heart was always firm to his country," says *Barnes*.

"In the school of the Edwards," writes *Hallam*,[85] "were formed men not inferior in any nobleness of dis-

[84] The only other strategist of the period was Sir John Hawkwood, and his powers in this respect were great. Edward III. showed some faint glimmerings, but the Prince of Wales, Chandos, and the rest, were devoid of all strategic ideas whatever. Had Knolles commanded the English army after Poictiers, I venture to think that he would have swept across the Loire like a hurricane, and sacked Paris.

[85] "The Middle Ages," I., 52.

position to their masters—Manni and the Captal de Buch, Knollys and Calveley, Chandos and Lancaster." Assuredly Knolles is not the least among these great ones.

The following extracts are from *Wright's* "Political Poems and Songs of the 14th century" (*vide* Calveley):

"Acriter instabat Knollis, qui non dubitabat,
Vulnera multa dabat, acies audax penetrabat."

("Eagerly Knolles kept pressing on, no laggard he as, dealing death-blows around, fiercely thro' the lines he hewed his way").[86]

"Sub quo prætores duo sunt mundi meliores
Debellatores, nomina commemores.
Robert Knollonis, alter dominus Cinisonis,
Si palmam ponis, dignus uterque thronis."

("Under whom are two leaders, braver conquerors of the world. Recall their names, Robert Knolles the one, the other the Lord of Ciniso.[87] If you assign a reward, each of them is worthy of the highest honour").[88]

Fuller says: "His charity was as great as his valour, and he rendered himself no less loved by the English than feared by the French"; and this statement can be fully justified. In the first place, as we have seen, he gave to the King with no niggardly hand; and *Blomfield* says:[89] "he obtained such immense wealth,

[86] "Prince Edward's Expedition to Spain" *(Brit. Mus. and Bodleian MSS.)*, *Wright*, I., 95.

[87] In Brittany.

[88] "Prince Edward's Expedition into Spain and the Battle of Najara," by *Walter of Peterborough*. *Wright*, I., 108. The writer seems to have held some position in the household of the Duke of Lancaster, and to have accompanied the expedition.

[89] History of Norfolk.

that King Richard II. pawned several of his most valuable jewels and silver vessels to him." This is no doubt true, for the jewels were generally in pawn in the City of London, somewhere or other.

Then he completely rebuilt the nave of the Church of the White Friars in Fleet Street as already stated; and partially rebuilt, or added to, the Churches of Harpley and Sculthorpe, in Norfolk.[90]

In 1380, Sir Robert, in conjunction with Sir Hugh Calveley and Sir John Hawkwood, founded a hospice for English travellers in Rome; but his greatest work was the building of a magnificent stone bridge over the Medway at Rochester. There was probably a bridge here in Roman times. There was certainly a very fine wooden bridge here in Saxon times, of which we possess accurate particulars and measurements; but in course of time it was burnt by fire; swept away by ice; rebuilt, patched, and mended year after year, and was generally in an insecure condition; for we find Edward I. paid twelve shillings in compensation for a horse, hired in his service, which was blown over the bridge and drowned. Worse still, in October 1277, Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester and Chancellor to Henry III., and founder of Merton College, Oxford, was drowned whilst crossing in a boat, the bridge being so much out of repair. Now this was like killing a railway director in a collision, for the repair of the bridge was a duty laid on the several parishes around, and Edward I. ordered the Sheriff of Kent to enquire into certain complaints of the non-repair. Little seems to have been done until 1344, when Edward III. ordered another inquisition as to the repairs of the bridge, in

[90] See *infra*.

order that his troops might march to Dover *en route* for France; but it was probably only patched up, for in 1347, after Calais was taken and the troops returned, the traffic "was so considerable, and the number of carriages and burdens that necessarily passed was so great, that the wooden bridge appeared insufficient to support them with safety"; but the insecurity of the old bridge was not the mainspring of Sir Robert's generosity, though he had doubtless often seen for himself the wretched condition of this important highway.

In 1387 the French collected a large fleet at Sluys, and determined to invade England, where the greatest alarm prevailed. Fearing a landing on the South Coast, and a quick march on London, the English "destroyed the bridge at Rochester," says *Froissart.* Now the Medway is a very wide river, with a strong and high tide, and to cross in small boats is often dangerous, and generally inconvenient. The river cuts the high road from Dover and London, and the want of a bridge would be severely felt. We can therefore imagine the wrath of Sir Robert, on returning to England in 1387, at finding the bridge entirely swept away, and having to ferry troops, horses, and baggage, over the river. He doubtless made a vow to put an end to this inconvenience, and that very year he, with Sir John Cobham, petitioned the King with reference to a new bridge, both as to the persons responsible for the repair thereof, and for permission to receive demise of lands, &c., up to five hundred marks per annum.[91] The petitions begin, "To the most dread Lord, our

[91] Permission to build was not required, but it was necessary that the responsibility of the "up-keep" should be settled, and power obtained to assess the various parishes concerned, and to hold lands in mortmain.

Rochester Bridge Chantry (exterior)

Harry F. Wingent *Copyright*

Lord the King, his poor liege-men, Robert de Knolles and John de Cobeham humbly pray," and end, "For God's sake, and as a work of charity." The King, with the assent of Parliament, granted the bulk of the petitions in 1391-2, but there is no doubt that the bridge was begun in 1388, and it was nearly finished, some writers say, in 1392; but *Fabyan* says (1406) that "in this year Sir Robert Knolles made an end of his work at Rochester Bridge and Chapell and dyed shortly after"; and this seems more probable. The Bridge was stated by its builders to be "566 feet one inch and half a quarter of an inch long," and fifteen feet wide, and it was considered superior to all others in England, except London Bridge.

The Chapel at the east end of the bridge was called *Allesolven* Chapel by the express wish of its founder, Sir John de Cobham, and had three chaplains to pray[92] "for the souls of the benefactors to the Bridge, as well those living as deceased, and especially for the souls of the Lord John de Cobham, the founder and patron, and of Sir Robert Knolles Knt., William Wangford and Eleanor his wife, John Frenyngham and Alice his wife, William Makewarde and Sir William Rykull then living, and for the souls of those deceased viz.: Sir William atte Pole and Joane his wife, Nicholas Potyn,[93] Constance wife of Sir Robert Knolles, Lady Margaret wife of Sir John Cobham, John Buckyngham[94] Bishop of Lincoln, and Sir William Walworth."[95]

[92] *Hasted's* "History of Kent," II., p. 21. The original Latin is in *Thorpe's* "Registrum Roffense," p. 555. *Lambarde* says the chapel was erected in 1396.

[93] A native of Rochester.

[94] He had served in the French wars with Sir Robert.

[95] The late Lord Mayor, who in subscribing towards it had doubtless been pleased to thus express his obligations to Sir Robert for his services in the 1381 rebellion.

Although this valuable list gives us the names of all the contributors, there is no doubt whatever that Sir Robert found the bulk of the money.

The bridge seems to have been built with very little parapet or railing, an omission supplied in later years. In a peregrination by a "Lieutenant, a Captaine and an Ancient [ensign] of the Military Company in Norwich," in 1635, we find the Lieutenant saying of Rochester that, "I mounted over a faire, stately, long and strong Frestone Bridge of eleven goodley arches, with strong battlements and iron railes, all along on both sides, the which for its length, and without buildings on it, is not much inferior to that unparalled'd Londons. This was built at the very great cost and charge of a noble Knight (Sr Robert Knowles) and coped with iron by a Right reverend Archbishop (Deane)."

Leland the antiquary says that one John Warner, a merchant of Rochester, made the new stone coping, and Bishop Warham gave the iron bars. Whoever may have been the donor of these iron railings, they seem to have attracted the notice of every visitor.

In 1543-4 the Duke of Nájera passed through the City, and his secretary writes: "There is an elegant stone bridge of eleven large arches, and on the top of the parapet is on each side an iron railing": and the secretary of the French Ambassador in 1641 says: "The Country is beautiful, especially near the large village of Rochester, which is chiefly observable on accouut of its bridge furnished with high iron railings, that drunkards, not uncommon here, may not mix water with their wine."

Lambarde says: "Archbishop Wareham added to the coping of the Bridgeworke, those Iron Barres which

Rochester Bridge Chantry (looking east)

Harry E. Vincent

do much beautifie the same, entending to have performed it thorowe out: But either wanting money by the loss of his perogatives, or time by prevention of Death, he left it in the halfe as you may yet see it."

At a later period the railings were replaced by a handsome stone balustrade, which, at the destruction of the bridge, was fortunately preserved, and forms part of the public esplanade at the present day.

Within a hundred years the bridge, either by neglect or because of bad workmanship, stood much in need of repairs, especially as regards the foundations of the land arch on the Rochester side, which seems to have been always a source of trouble; and in 1489 Cardinal Morton, the Archbishop, offered a remission from purgatory for fifty days for all manner of sins to those who contributed to the repairs of the bridge.

At a later period Royal Commissions were issued to deal with the structure and the lands devoted to its maintenance; and in 1573, by the personal ascendency of Sir Roger Manwood (Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and afterwards Lord Chief Baron) the revenues were put upon a sound footing, and Acts passed for the government of the bridge, which are in force at the present time.

This reorganization is commemorated in the following Latin elegiacs inserted in the account given by Manwood, and signed by him, in the "Record Book" at Rochester. It is probably his own composition:

"Pontificis Roffen: merito Knols nomine dignus
Pontificis Manwood, et tibi nomen erit—
Knols fabricam propriis impensis et Sociorum
Munificis opibus condidit egregiam

Funditus at periisset opus, ni cura ruinis
Manwoodi lata lege tulisset opem
Quique creavit opus lapsurum, qui recreavit
Encomio dignus, laus sit utrique sua." [96]

("A verse to the bridge builder of Rochester. Knolles is worthy of that well-merited name. A verse to the bridge builder Manwood. Thou too shall have that name. Knolles built a splendid fabric by his own monies and the munificent gifts of his friends; but the work would utterly have perished if Manwood's care had not had a law passed and so brought help to the ruins. Both he who erected the work which was to fall, and he who rebuilt it, are worthy of commendation. Let each have his proper share of praise").

Knolles' bridge remained until 1856, when the exigencies of navigation and trade compelled its destruction, and a new bridge was erected on the site of the old Saxon bridge, and in a line with the main street of Rochester and Strood.

The old seal of the Bridgewardens had a representation of the Trinity; [97] but being considered "superstitious" at the time of the Commonwealth, it was destroyed and a new seal made. This is supposed to bear the arms of Knolles and Cobham impaled, under a chief of the lion passant of England, the latter being adapted from the arms of the City of Rochester.[98] Unfortunately the Knolles arms are those of the Earl of Banbury, who was supposed to be descended from

[96] From a paper on "Rochester Bridge," in *Archæologia Cantiana*, by A. A. Arnold, Esq., F.S.A., to whom I am indebted for much information.

[97] It was doubtless the same as the seal for Pontefract Hospital, 9, v.

[98] They may be seen in the accompanying engraving of the Bridge.

Rochester Bridge, 18th Century

Rochester Bridge Chantry (looking west)

Harry F. Wengent

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Sir Robert.[99] They are what is known as the "Jerusalem" arms: *Azure, a cross moline voided or, between four cross crosslettes or.*" This coat is said to have been conferred by Richard I., in Palestine, on a certain Sir Thomas Knolles who accompanied him thither.[100] It certainly had nothing whatever to do with Sir Robert Knolles, and it is much to be regretted that so inaccurate a seal was ever used.

His next great benefaction was the building of a College and Almshouses at Pontefract, called Knolles' Hospital, and more commonly "The Trinities."

"His wife was a Yorkshire woman, it has been said, we know not with what truth, born at Knottingley; though another account represents that Pontefract was the place of her nativity, at the house in Micklegate, afterwards pulled down by her husband to make room for Trinity Hospital. Still another tradition is that the founder originally intended to build his College at Sculthorpe, near Walsingham, but that at the wish of his wife, he altered his intention and selected Pontefract as the site.[101] However this may be, certain it is that he purchased from one Thomas Sherwin a suitable site in this borough on the north side of the Micklegate (or High Street), and on that site during the next fifteen or twenty years he erected his buildings, more remains of which were standing in one shape or another, till last year,[102] than was generally believed." [103]

[99] A claim which cannot, I think, be substantiated.

[100] See "Herald and Genealogist," Vol. VII. It is sometimes given as "semée of cross crosslets," as in the engraving.

[101] *Leland* says: "Syr Robert Knolles was one myndid to have made this College at his manor of Skonthorpe three miles from Walsingham, but at the desire of Constance his wife he turned his purpose, and made it in the very place at Pontfract where his wife was born, endowing the College with 180 li. land by the yere."

[102] A.D. 1881.

[103] From "An account of the Earlier Charities of Pontefract," by *Richard Holmes* (Pontefract, 1881), which should be consulted for further particulars.

Sir Robert thus determined to build a College for secular priests, and Almshouses for the poor, and the licenses[104] to do so from the immediate Lord (John of Gaunt) and the King bear date 1385.[105] The College consisted of a master or custos, six chaplains, two clerks, thirteen poor, and two servitors, with the Prior of St. Oswald at Nostell as Visitor.

"The buildings included a chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity, in the centre of a parallelogram, whose sides were the houses of the master and six chaplains to the south (on the north side of the Horse Fair) and the various dwellings of the other inmates, north, east, and west. . . . . This foundation, intended by its pious benefactor to extend to all ages, lasted little more than a century and a quarter in the form in which it had been constituted originally."[106]

It was dissolved in 1538, but the chapel does not seem to have been confiscated or secularized then. In 1649 it was used for divine service for two months, while the town churches were in ruins or being enlarged, and all the baptisms then recorded are said to have taken place in the "Chappell of Trinity Hospital." Later it went to decay, and the Corporation now have the freehold. Portions of the old building can still be traced.

Knolles' good intentions were not entirely frustrated, for his almshouses continue to exist, and were rebuilt some thirty years ago on the site of the hospice.[107] The seal of the Hospital was: *A rose and the image of the Holy Trinity.*

[104] As at Rochester, the licenses were necessary for a Corporate body to hold land in mortmain.

[105] This was just at the time when Sir Hugh Calveley was founding a similar College at Bunbury. The two old soldiers had evidently talked matters over together.

[106] *Holmes.*

[107] Normanton and other places still benefit by "The Trinities."

In 1386-7 Sir Robert granted Robert Braybrook (Bishop of London), Sir John Cobham, Knight, John Drew, Clerk,[108] and John Seymour of London, all his manors, lands, advowsons, &c., in Norfolk, in order to settle them on the College. Witnesses: Sir Robert Ilnege, Sir Robert Mortimer, Sir John de Tudenham, Sir John de Clifton, and Jeff. Fransham, Esq. But the transference was not complete, for in 1406-7 he conveyed to his Trustees, John Drew and John Seymour, the manors of Sculthorpe, Dunton, Kettleston, Tatesford, Binham, &c. They were held *in capite* by the third part of a knight's fee, and were valued at £20 per annum, "beyond all reprises."

Sir Robert acquired a great deal of landed property. One of the estates purchased by him was the manor of Pancras in the County of Middlesex, from Robert, Lord Ferrers of Groby, in 1378. It was probably bought as a benefaction to the Carthusians, for in 1381 the reversion, which belonged to the Crown, was granted, after the death of Sir Robert and his wife, to the prior and convent of the Carthusian monks, built in honour of the Holy Salutation. Knolles paid the King for this reversion by lands at Tunstall, Kent, to the value of £40 per annum; and this seems to dispose of the tradition that the King granted this reversion in return for Knolles' services in the Wat

[108] John Drew was Rector of Harpley, Chaplain to Sir Robert Knolles, and proved his Will as executor in 1407-8, and seems to have acted as Private Secretary. He shared with Sir Robert in the patronage of several Norfolk livings, and received from him the gift of others. It is a curious fact that *Burke* gives Drew practically the same arms as Knolles: "DREW, *or on a chevron argent; 3 roses of the field seeded and barbed ppr.* . . . . DREW, *or on a chevron argent, 3 roses of the first seeded or.*" This is probably incorrect, for the Drews of Norfolk bore an entirely different coat (see *Herald and Genealogist*, V., 299).

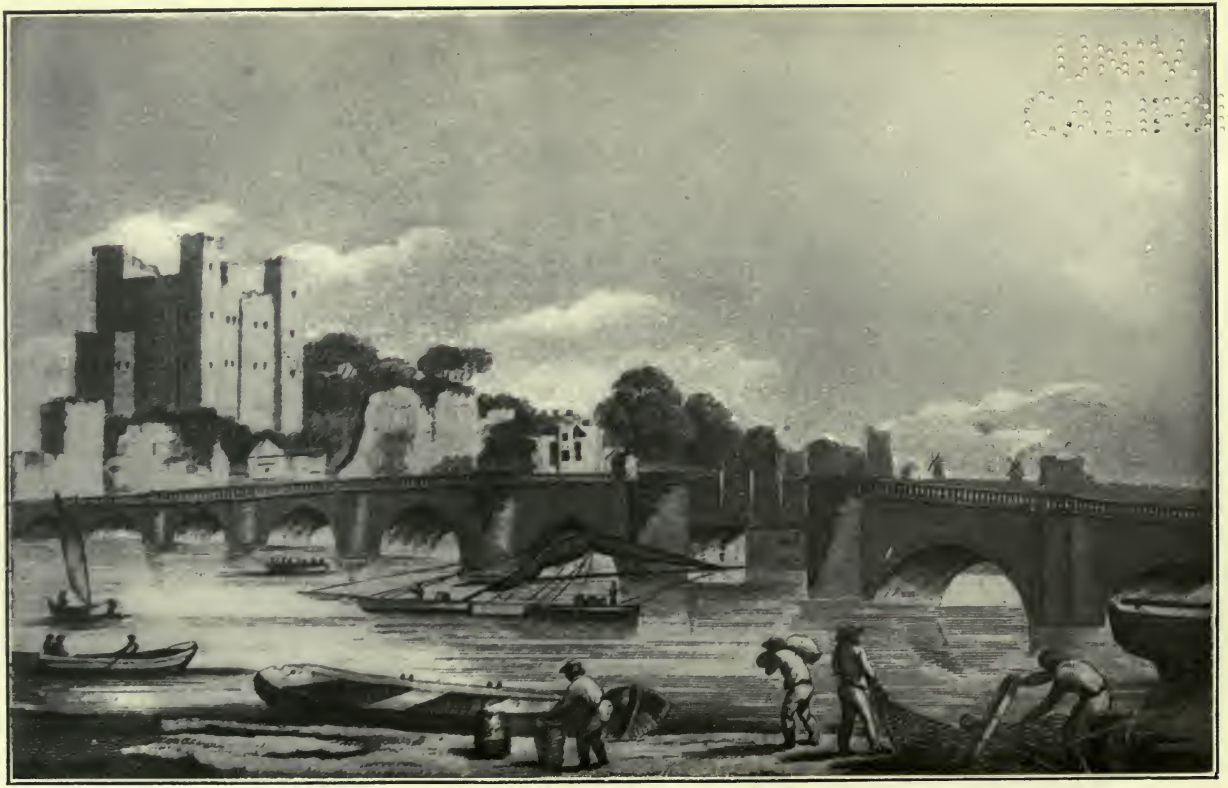
Tyler rebellion. At all events the King received some payment for it.

His connection with this Kentish property seems to have arisen thus. In 13 Richard II., being seventeen years of age, John Earl of Pembroke was killed at a tournament, and died without issue. He had an estate of 1000 acres at Elmley, in the Isle of Sheppey, and Sir Robert Knolles became trustee for the two heirs, Reginald de Grey and Richard Talbot. The former (Lord Grey de Ruthin) being taken prisoner by Glendower, had to sell some of this land for ransom, and the manor of Tunstall was conveyed to John Drew, Rector of Harpley, and John Seymour, citizen of London,[109] who held it, and as such had a "view of frankpledge" in village of Leysdown; and on April 19th, 7 Henry IV., granted to Robert Knolles a moiety of the rent of £4 issuing out of lands and tenements there, and a moiety likewise of the services and of "frankpledge" due to them for these lands and tenements; anno 10 Henry IV. Robert Knolles' trustees conveyed the rent above-mentioned to wardens of Rochester Bridge.[110]

He held a good deal of property in Norfolk. In 1366 he bought for life, from Rafe Lord Neville, Barford Hall manor. In 1371 he held the manorial rights of Wrighton. In 1380 he acquired the manor of Sculthorpe from Catherine Brew, who being left a widow, took the veil at Dartford, and renounced wordly possessions. In 1388 he held Hugglesfield manor in north

[109] It is evident that Knolles himself advanced the money. Drew was his "clerk," and Seymour his attorney. Probably his position as trustee made him proceed in this manner.

[110] *Hasted's* "History of Kent," II., 574.



Rochester Bridge, 19th Century (middle arch altered to improve navigation)

Pickenham, consisting of a "capital messuage and a water mill." In 1403 he held part of a knight's fee from the Earl of Arundel, at Shipdam.[111]

There is no doubt that Sir Robert got rid of the greater portion of his property in building Rochester Bridge and the Pontefract Hospital. He left two Wills, copies of which are in the Archbishop's Registry at Lambeth Palace.[112] They are dated 1389 and 1404, the former being in Latin and the latter in French. The Will of 1389 mainly refers to his London property, which he leaves for the most part to his Pontefract Hospital. He also leaves grants of money and vestments to the Friar Preachers in Pontefract, St. Katherine at the Tower, St. Bartholomew Smithfield, the Lepers at St. Giles, the inmates of the house of Bedlam at Bishopsgate, Lynn in Norfolk, Cheshunt, &c., and orders his sepulture at the White Friars, London. Amongst his executors are: John Drew, Richard Seymour, the Prior of Norton, Cheshire, Richard le Scrope, John de Cobham, and Hugh Brow. It was sealed at Seething Lane, the last day of October, 1389.

The Will of 1404 is practically a codicil to the foregoing, but it is far more interesting, as furnishing us with a delightful glimpse of the old knight's household. He leaves vestments and money for masses to many places, including:

Pontefract
All Saints', Barking
St. Paul's, London

[111] Other Norfolk property will be found noted under "Pontefract Hospital." I have not traced the Wiltshire property which Sir Robert is said to have possessed.

[112] *Archbishop Arundel's Registers*, Vol. I. They are entered in inverse order of dates.

Westminster Abbey
The Three Orders of the Friars in London
The Monastery of S. Thomas at Canterbury ("called Christ Church")
St. Bartholomew, Smithfield
Priory of Rothwell
Lynn, Sculthorpe, and Pickenham, in Norfolk

and a hundred shillings to the Parish Church of Malpas, Cheshire, which gives a clue to the district that he originally came from.

He leaves legacies to the following members of his household for "good and long service":

John Seymour, his attorney
John Stapul, his esquire
Richard Ockington, his esquire
Richard Tillington, servant
Richard Caboche, steward
John the Heye, "mon boteler"
Dame Abbas, cook
Rocklans, servant
John Speke, servant
Richard Potts, "mon garson"
Ithan, page of the chamber
John, page of the chamber, and
Thomas Tinnemond, his confessor

He expressly orders his executors not to incur great costs at his burial: "ne facent costages grosses ne outrages expenses a mon dite entierment."

A great number of executors are named, including: Thomas Knollys,[113] of the City of London; John Drew,

[113] He was no relation. He was buried in St. Anthony's Church, near Sir Robert's dwelling in Seething Lane, and the two men were doubtless near neighbours. *Stow* says: "The church was lately edified by Thomas

"my clerk," and parson of Harpley; John Seymour; Walter Coton, Citizen and Mercer. The Will was sealed at Sculthorpe. Probate was granted to John Drew, "his trusty clerk" and private secretary, February 10th, 1407-8.

There is no mention of kith or kin in either Will; but he leaves money for many masses for the repose of the soul of his "dear wife," to whom he appears to have been devotedly attached. The number of church vestments which he possessed points to booty from foreign parts.

It has been asserted that Sir Robert was a Knight of the Garter. This is not correct. His humble birth was doubtless a sure bar to that honour.

Anstis in his introduction to "The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter," says:

"As to Sir Robert Knolles, his military exploits were beyond imagination so illustrious, and his enterprizes in warlike actions of the greatest hazards and difficulties so surprisingly successful, that it remains a question whether this "le veritable demon de la guerre," as he was called *the true thunderbolt or demon of war*, owed more to his fortunate chances or his conduct . . . . If the report of the later historians is to be credited, that he was born of mean parentage in Cheshire, that infelicity in his extraction must have

Knowles, grocer, Mayor, and by Thomas Knowles, his son, both buried here, with epitaphs, of the father thus:

Here lieth graven under this stone
Thomas Knowles both flesh and bone:
Grocer and Alderman, yeares fortie,
Shiriffe, and twice Mayor truly.
And for he should not lie alone,
Here lieth with him his good wife Joan.
They were together sixtie yeare
And nineteen children they had in feere (together)."

been a bar against his admission into this order according to the letter of the Statutes, which absolutely required the Qualifications of a descent from a gentle ancestry. His actions indeed were so wonderful and exceedingly meritorious, that he had the greatest pretensions for the indulgence of a dispensation if any such were grantable in that age."

Anstis thinks, however, that the words of Thomas of Walsingham hardly bear out the interpretation generally given them, and that they do not "prove the want of a gentle descent"; but after due examination of all the facts, he comes to the conclusion (and later writers agree with him) that Knolles did not obtain the Garter.

Armorial Bearings

Sir Robert Knolles' arms were: *Gules, on a chevron argent Three roses of the field;* his crest was: *On a torse or and azure a ram's head argent, horned dexter or, and sinister azure.*[114]

These arms still exist:

1. In the Bridge Chamber or Record Room at Rochester.
2. Sprouston Church, Norfolk;[115] monument in north aisle, with three coloured shields:
   (1) *Gules, on a chevron argent three roses of the field*, for Knowles;
   (2) Knowles; impaling, *Per pale azure and gules a cross engrailed ermine*, for Berney;

[114] No doubt in imitation of Sir Hugh Calveley's calf's head.

[115] *Farrer's* "Church Heraldry of Norfolk," I., 263.

(3) KNOWLES; impaling, *Gules a saltire between four cross crosslets fitchée arg.*, for BRAMPTON.[116]

The inscription is gone.

3. Harpley Church.

Blomfield says:

"The church has a nave, a north and south aisle and a chancel, and was built by Sir Robert Knowls a famous general in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. in the wars of France, who was Knight of the Garter and bore *Gules, on a chevron argent three roses of the first*, which arms are painted on the screens on the left hand as you enter the chancel; and on the right hand: *Argent a fess dauncy between three leopards faces, sable*, the arms of Sir Roberts' wife, probably a Beverley.[117] On the battlements of the south aisle, which are of free stone, are several arms carved, viz., of Knowls and his wife . . . . three feathers for the Prince of Wales, etc."

At a later period we read in the *Herald and Genealogist*, V., 289:

"The Church of Harpley (Norfolk), a handsome building in the decorated style, is traditionally said to have been erected by Sir R. Knolles, and its south aisle, which is of somewhat later date than the rest of the structure, is very highly enriched with sculptured decorations . . . including a series of armorial shields, which are evidently in commemorstion of Sir Robert Knolles and his friends. The south aisle at Harpley may therefore have been enriched either by Sir Robert Knolles' immediate trustees or by the Prior of Cokesford.[118] On the third battlement is: Shield of Knolles, *on*

[116] I do not know what connection Knolles had with these two families, but it was probably manorial.

[117] There seems no doubt that these were his wife's arms.

[118] A John Knowles was Rector of Harpley in 1474, and Prior of Cokesford or Coxford. Several writers absurdly describe him as a brother of Sir Robert. He may have been an illegitimate descendant, for *Chitting* (who was Chester Herald, and made a visitation of Norfolk and Suffolk 1600-20) says he bore the same arms, with "on the sinister a rose or." *Vide infra.*

a chevron three roses, and on the tenth is *A fess engrailed between three Katherine wheels;* and these arms may also be seen in the churches of Sculthorp, Mundford, North Barsham, and Cromer, in each case accompanying Knolles. The connection between the two cannot be explained." [119]

At the present time *Farrer*, in his "Church Heraldry of Norfolk," says:

"Harpley. Coloured shields on the Rood Screen:

1. Knowles
2. *Argent, a fesse dancettée sable between three leopards, the faces of the second, langued gules*, Beverley.

Shields on the battlements of the South Aisle, commencing at the west end:

1. *A fess dancettée between three* . . . . ? but the outline is more like an escallop than a leopard's face. They are drawn as roses or cinquefoils in "Norfolk Archæology." [120] From the position of the shield as the first in the sequence there can be no doubt it is the coat of someone connected with the place or building of the church.
10. *On a chcvron* . . . . Knowles.
18. *A fesse engrailed between three Catherine Wheels.*
25. *Three ostrich feathers with escrolls.*" [121]

BUNBURY CHURCH, CHESHIRE.—On Sir Hugh Calveley's tomb, KNOLLES alternately with CALVELEY. They are barely visible, but the *field Gules* and the *chevron* can be deciphered. (January 1907).

[119] I have not been able to trace these arms. It is evident that the south aisle was meant to be a war memorial, and this coat probably refers to some old comrade in arms. Could it be Sir Walter Hewitt? *Blomfield* in his "History," and *Chitting*, fail to explain them. *Glover* in his "Ordinary" says they belong to *Casteler*. In Mundford Church they are quartered by *Tindall*. *Mr. Walter Rye* in his "History of Cromer" suggests *Scott* of York, but *very doubtfully*, for he adds, "There were Scotts here, but I fancy not armigerous." The family of Whelok or Wheelock of Cheshire have a very similar coat: *argent, a chevron between three Catherine Wheels sable;* but I cannot find any connection with Sir Robert.

[120] Volume VIII.

[121] The celebrated "Arms for peace" of the Black Prince, Knolles' old chief.

This completes the list of arms now visible; but arms formerly existed in:

CROMER CHURCH.—"In the windows were the arms of Sir Robert Knowlles with his crest, *a ram's head azure, horned or*" *(Blomfield)*; also the "Catherine Wheels" coat. *Chitting* says: "Gules, etc. His crest set on a torse or and azure, a ram's head argent, horned or and azure."

NORTH BARSHAM.—*Chitting* gives:

1. Knolles.
2. "Catherine Wheels" coat.

NORTHWOLD.—*Chitting* says: "Knowles ut prius sideth[122] *argent a fess dauncy between three leopards' heads sable*" (Beverley).

BLAKENEY.—On a Miserere was carved "*on a chevron three cinquefoils or roses.*"

MUNDFORD.—*Chitting* says:

"Knowles. *Gules, etc.*"

"Sir R. Knowles, ut is his crest *a ram's head argent horned sinister azure, and dexter or.*"

"Knolls, John, parson of Harple, *mesme les armes, on the sinister a rose or.*"

SCULTHORPE.—Here was a magnificent roof, containing twenty-one coats of arms.[123] In the list given in *Henry Chitting's* "Visitation of Norfolk and Suffolk, 1600-1620," are the following:

7. "Knowles, *Gules, on a chevron argent three roses gules.*

[122] *i.e.*, impales.

[123] Destroyed at the restoration of the church in 1815. A complete list of the shields may be found in the *Herald and Genealogist*, V., 307. The roof was probably erected by Sir Robert's trustees.

18. *Argent a fesse engrailed between inter three Katherine Wheels sable.*
19. Knowles *within a border azure bezanted*,[124] orate p'aia Rob'ti Knowles milit'.
20. *Argent, a fesse gules inter three caulves trippant sable* (Calveley).
21. Knowles *without a border sideth Argent, a fesse dancy inter three leopard heads sable* (Beverley).

Knowles sideth the same coat round the church."

NARBURGH.—In this church, *Blomfield* says: "The nave is of great antiquity. The inside is camerated and impanelled with wainscot, the mitres of these panels are ornamented with shields . . . . 13. *arg. on a chevron gules*, 3 *rose of the first*, Knowles."

Blomfield further adds: "As a Knight of the Garter he had supporters to his arms: two naked savages standing by two trees; the crest a ram's head as appears by his seal." No seal is now known to exist, though a diligent search amongst the Manorial papers of Norfolk, and the documents quoted by *Rymer* as having been sealed by Knolles in 1370, might bring one to light. I think *Blomfield* has made some mistake as to "supporters," for Knolles was not a K.G.; and even if he had been, he would not, on that account, have been entitled to appropriate such "supporters."

Knolles' arms are said to be in Withyham Church, in Sussex, accompanying the arms of Sackville, Burghersh, &c.; and they also appear, differenced by a crescent, among the quarterings of *Newdigate*.

[124] The *Bezants* must be from the *Duchy of Cornwall* coat, and evidently commemorate Knolles' long services under the Black Prince, who was Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester. The Bordure generally shows relationship. This is an interesting example of another meaning.

It has already been stated that Sir Robert left no children. *Blomfield*, in his "History of Norfolk," quotes Sir Henry Chauncy as saying that Knolles left "several children"; but evidently discounts the evidence, and also the statement that the Earls of Banbury were descended from him; and adds: "It seems more probable that he had a daughter and heir Emma or Margaret, married to John Habinton, Esq., of Ardington in Devonshire . . . He had also a brother Thomas, who married Isabella, daughter and heir of Sir John Northcote, from whom descended the Knowles of Cote Abbey, Northamptonshire."

These statements are equally incorrect, and though we must regret that so great a soldier and patriot died without issue, yet there seems no doubt whatever that none of the numerous families who claim legitimate descent from Sir Robert can substantiate their claim. It is easy to assume arms; it is quite another thing to prove one's right to them.

A few yards from the room in which these lectures were delivered stands the statue of Cheshire's greatest General of modern times, Lord Combermere.

It is deeply to be regretted that no statue, or monument, not a stone, not even *one* word publicly commemorates the martial achievements of Cheshire's greatest General of mediæval times,

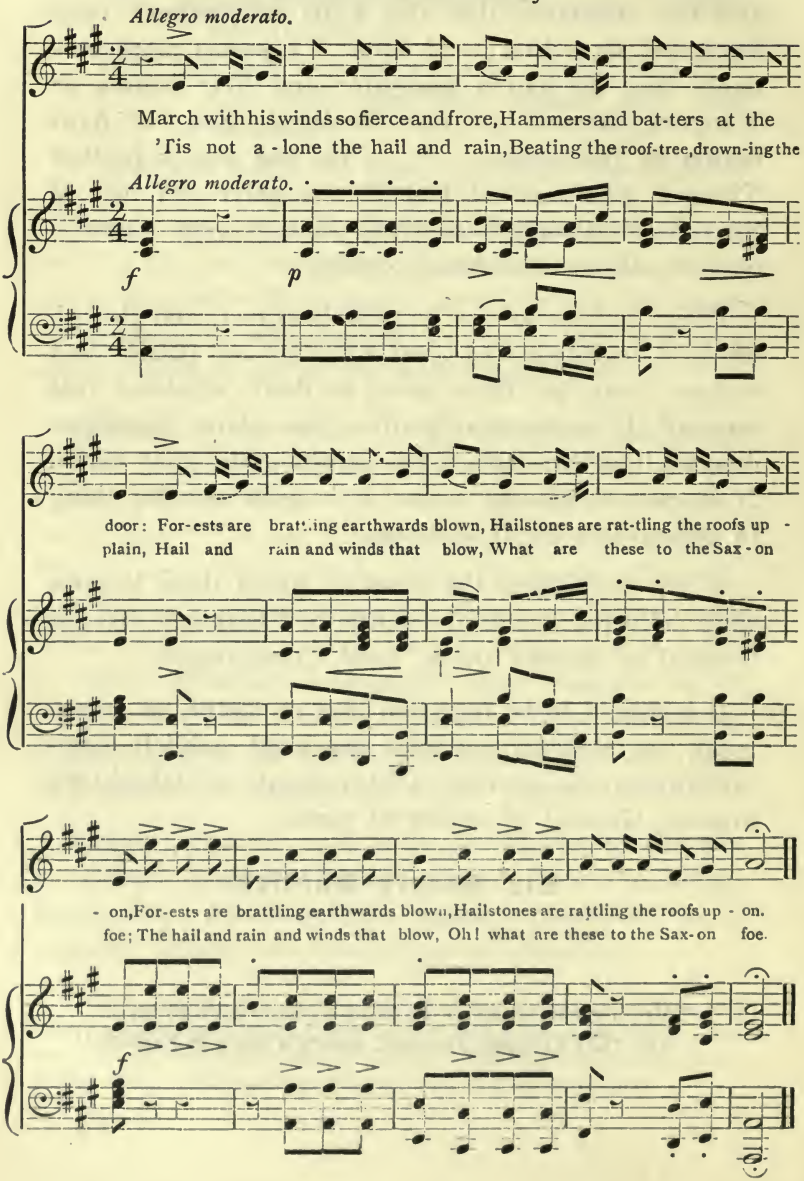
Sir Robert Knolles

"Much good, some ill, he did; so hope all's even,
And that his soul, through mercy's gone to heaven."

APPENDIX

Breton Ballad

Stourm Ann Tregont—Le Combat des Trente—
The Battle of the Thirty



There are three versions of this ballad to be found in :

Villemarqué's "Chants Populaires de la Bretagne"
Weckerlin's "Chansons Populaires du Pays de France"
Tom Taylor's "Ballads and Songs of Brittany."

Villemarqué's differs in time and in style from the other two. I have used the first bar of *Villemarqué*, and arranged the rest from the other versions. The whole of the ballad, well translated, is to be found in *Taylor's* book.

For kind help and information I have to thank A. A. Arnold, Esq., F.S.A., Cobhambury, Gravesend; Fountain Elwin, Esq., Booton, Norfolk; Ernest Jagger, Esq., Mus.B., Pontefract; the Rev. J. T. Davies, M.A., Head-Master of the King's School, Chester; the Rev. D. Falle, M.A.; and Paul Mathews, Esq., Rochester.

For illustrations and lantern slides I am much indebted to Dr. Elliott, Chester; Harry F. Wingent, Esq., Chatham; the Mayor of Ploërmel, Brittany; and our Curator (Mr. A. Newstead). I have also to thank my son, Robert Sheldon Bridge, for the Map of France and other assistance.

JOSEPH C. BRIDGE.

Christ Church Vicarage,
Chester, Xmas 1907.

Notes

TWO facts should be recorded now whilst they are still fresh :

It is proposed to found in the University of Liverpool a Professorship in memory of the late Dr. J. E. Dutton, who sacrificed his life in the cause of science on the West Coast of Africa ; it is also proposed that the new Chair when founded should be filled by Mr. Robert Newstead. A Meeting was held at the Town Hall, Chester, on November 12th, 1907, to further this project, and a Committee appointed, with the Mayor as Chairman ; the Town Clerk and Mr. G. P. Miln as Hon. Secretaries ; and Mr. J. R. Thomson and Mr. J. Simon as Hon. Treasurers.

It is also proposed to undertake excavations of Roman and other remains in Wales, in connection with the School of Archæology in the University of Liverpool. An influential Meeting was held at the Town Hall, Liverpool, presided over by the Lord Mayor, on November 21st, 1907, when the scheme was advocated by Professor Sir John Rhys and others, and received the approval of those present. A large Committee was appointed, with power to add to their number ; and it is interesting to know that Professor Haverfield is on the Advisory Committee ; and that two members of our Society (the Archdeacon of Chester and Mr. Fergusson Irvine) are on the General Committee.

Obituary

THE LATE DR. STOLTERFOTH

SINCE the year closed of which this volume forms the record, the Society has sustained a great loss through the death of Dr. Henry Stolterfoth, M.A., M.D., J.P., and it is only fitting that the mention of this should not be deferred until another volume is issued.

As Councillor, Alderman, and Mayor, he had rendered willing and most efficient service to the City of Chester; and it was of great advantage to the Society that its aims and operations should be so intelligently represented in the Corporation by Members of its Council, as by Dr. Stolterfoth, the late Alderman Charles Brown, Mr. H. B. Dutton, and others.

Though he was deeply interested in many other Institutions in the City, he took an active part in the proceedings of the Society; was for many years a Member of its Council; and seldom absent from its meetings. To the discussions, either at the Council or Sessional Meetings, he always brought the benefit of cultured taste and ripe experience, and the Society is the poorer by his removal from them.

The Council, at a Meeting on 29th October, 1907, expressed in feeling terms their sense of the loss they had sustained, and their sympathy with Mrs. Stolterfoth; whilst many members of the Society were present at his funeral on October 8th, when a very large attendance of citizens betokened the universal respect in which he was held.

ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS 1906-1907

Excursions in 1907

Though the longer excursion which had been contemplated had, for various reasons, to be abandoned, the Society showed its activity by arranging three shorter ones, two of them in the City, and one in its immediate vicinity. Subjoined will be found accounts of each of these.

On Thursday afternoon, June 13th, a large party of the members of the Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historic Society made an excursion to "The Roft," at the Rossett, by kind permission of Mrs. Boscawen. The weather, which was showery at first, cleared up as the party approached their destination.

At the Roft, Mr. W. Shone, F.G.S., pointed out the various remains of the once formidable earthen ramparts and ditches, which on the two accessible sides had converted the position into one of great strength. The party gathered around the artificial mound of gravel at the north end of the camp, from which a most extensive range of country could be observed: to the north, Chester and the Cheshire hills; on the east, the Cheshire plain; and on the west, Hope Mountain, Mold, Holywell, and the Clwyddian range beyond.

Mr. Shone referred briefly to the great historic events connected with this area, remarking that the Roft was a fortification in British times on the borders of the Ordo-

vices, the Cornavii, and the Brigantes. He mentioned also the "Alleluia" victory under St. Germanus, near Mold, over a marauding band of Picts and Saxons, about 429 A.D., and the battle of Chester, about 607 A.D., which was fought in the vicinity. He also referred to other important historical events relating to this neighbourhood.

The party, after leaving the Roft, visited Trevalyn, and were conducted by Mr. Boscawen over this most interesting and historic Elizabethan mansion, the ancestral home of the Trevalyn family. The mansion has not been much altered since it was built, hence its unique interest. It bears the date 1576. Among others who contributed to the success of the excursion were Dr. Bridge, F.S.A., and Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A.

About forty members of the Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historic Society and their friends visited the old parts of the Castle (by kind permission of Major Clifford and other military authorities) on Wednesday, July 17th; and afterwards, under the guidance of Mr. Tasker, visited places connected with Matthew Henry.

The chief point of interest in the Castle was St. Mary's Chapel in Cæsar's Tower. This, as well as the chamber underneath, has a groined roof of stone, and from the style of the workmanship it may be ascribed to the same date as the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral, viz., 13th century. In the chapel is an awmbry (or recess for one) on the north wall; while the piscina is in the east wall on the south side of the place where the altar stood, where there is an arched recess. It is impossible to say whether the base of this formed the altar slab, or whether the recess contained figures, or was at one time a window.

It was in this Chapel that James II. heard Mass during his stay in Chester. Its dimensions are about 19ft. by 16ft., and its height is also about 16ft. It has been disused as a

Chapel for many years, and has been used as a storehouse for ammunition, &c., but at present it is quite clear. Traces of a fresco were distinctly observable about a hundred years ago; and a representation of this, as also of the Chapel itself, are given in Hanshall's "History of the County Palatine of Chester." In a note Hanshall suggests that the picture represents Moses receiving the table of the Commandments, while the devil, as a monster, is making a formidable attempt to seize them. Traces of a bishop and monks observing this are seen in the right corner of the picture. The ramparts were also visited, but time did not permit of the inspection of the old armour and other things in the officers' mess-room.

The party then went to Bolland's Court House, by kind permission of Dr. and Mrs. Newall, and saw the summer-house in the garden where Matthew Henry is supposed to have written his Commentary. Looking in at Trinity Church to see Matthew Henry's tomb and the brass in his memory, the party adjourned to Matthew Henry's Chapel in Trinity Street. Here the pulpit from which he preached is to be seen, and also other furniture handed down from his time. The Communion plate used by him; his diary of church matters; his Commentary, and other relics were also inspected. Mr. Tasker also read a paper giving an interesting account of the chapel, and of Henry's connection with it, which it is hoped will appear in the future Transactions of the Society; and he was cordially thanked by the Archdeacon on behalf of the members present for the trouble he had taken in arranging the details of the visit. All present were agreed that the afternoon's excursion had been a great success.

The heavy rain on Wednesday, August 14th, had the effect of preventing many from joining in the City excursion. About twenty-five, however, braved the elements, and met at the Church of St. Mary-on-the-Hill, at 2-30 p.m.

Here the Archdeacon gave a brief description of the church, and then directed special attention to various points of interest: as the nave roof; the old glass in the Troutbeck Chapel; and the monuments. A small brass to Rowland Waring, gent., who died May xiii., 1695, was pointed out. This, which has a beautifully engraved coat of arms, has been moved from the north to the south side of the chancel arch, so as to bring it into sight. From the registers we learn that Mr. Waring was married three times, and that he was a "Razargrinder."

The roof still requires some treatment, as some of the timber is whitened by the chemical which was used to destroy the worm or beetle with which it was infested. It is hoped that funds will soon be forthcoming for the purpose.

With reference to the monuments, the Archdeacon drew attention to the remarkable offices held by some of those to whom they were erected. Thus, Randle Holme was "Sewer extraordinary to King Charles II., and deputy to ye King at Arms." Peter Proby was "an esquire for the body to Queen Elizabeth, and to King James, and for both Princes Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London, and Post Master for Ireland." Ralph Worsley was "Page of the Wardrobe, Steward of the Chamber," and was made by King Henry VIII., in return for services rendered, "Sergeant of the Crown, Keeper of the Lions, Lionesses, and Leopards within the Tower of London, Porter of the Great Wardrobe, Controller in the Counties of Chester and Flint, Clerk of the Crown of Lancaster, and Escheator in the County Palatine of Lancaster." These various offices open out a wide and interesting field of enquiry, and might afford subjects for future investigation. After inspecting more closely the different objects of interest in the Church, the party went into the churchyard, and saw the churchyard Cross, which was much admired.

By the favour of Mr. Poyser, Gamul House was next visited. Only the entrance hall, with its large and elabo-

rate fireplace and some trace of the roof, now remains; but it is interesting to know that King Charles I. must have passed before that fireplace in September 1645.

The party then went to St. Olave's Church. There is not much of interest remaining in the building, which was converted into a school a good many years ago, though it is now again restored to its original purpose, and used as a Church occasionally.

After visiting Randle Holme's House ("The Old King's Head"), the party went to St. Michael's Church, where the Vicar had the church plate and the churchwardens' accounts displayed in the vestry. The roof of the chancel is somewhat unusual, and is handsome, while along the north wall there is a carved wall-plate, which attracted attention. Some of the inscriptions on the mural tablets were very interesting. The Archdeacon thanked the Vicar for opening his two churches to the Society, and for the trouble he had taken.

COUNCIL MEETINGS

At a Meeting of the Council, held on Tuesday, 5th June, 1906, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, eight new members were elected. A letter was received from the Hon. Secretary of the Grosvenor Museum Management Committee, respecting the formulation of a scheme for the transfer of the Museum Buildings to the Local Education Authority, but the consideration of the terms of transfer was deferred, pending the submission of a scheme by the Management Committee.

Proof copies of Volume XII. of the Society's Journal were submitted, and it was decided to print 500 copies of Mr. W. E. B. Whittaker's Paper upon "The Glynnes of Hawarden," to sell at 2/6 per copy.

A letter from the keeper of Denbigh Castle was received, asking, on behalf of Mr. Vaughan Williams of Denbigh, if this Society had any surplus specimens of Roman Pottery which could be spared for their Castle Museum; and the Secretary was instructed to reply that the Society had no surplus specimens at present.

Mr. F. W. Longbottom reported the find of a number of copper coins at Blacon, near Chester.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on Tuesday, 19th June, 1906, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, the terms and conditions upon which this Society would consent to the transfer of the Museum Buildings to the Local Education Authority were drawn up and adopted.

A letter was received from the Grosvenor Museum Management Committee, asking this Society's consent to the removal into the Library of the lettered boards recording the names of the Presidents and Kingsley Memorial Medalists of the Natural Science Society; and it was decided to offer no objection to suitable boards being displayed in the Library.

The Chairman submitted a circular setting forth the advantages and terms of membership of the Society, which he proposed sending to the county residents who were not already members, which was approved.

The presentation to the Society, by Mr. Frank Freeth, M.A., of London, of a copy of June (1906) issue of "The Connoisseur," containing an article written by him upon the Toft Dish, which is among this Society's collection, was reported, and accepted with thanks. The Secretary reported that the block of the Toft Dish had been kindly lent to the Society by the Editor of "The Connoisseur" for reproduction in the next volume of the Society's Journal; and instructions were given for 350 copies to be printed off. One new member was elected.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on Friday, 27th July, 1906, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, a letter was received from the English Drama Society, containing a proposal to reproduce in Chester the ancient "Chester Mystery Plays"; and a resolution was passed signifying the Council's approval of the proposal and desire to co-operate with the English Drama Society in the undertaking.

A letter was received from Mr. W. E. B. Whittaker suggesting that the reprints of his Paper, upon "The Glynnes of Hawarden," be offered to Hawarden parishioners at a reduced price; but the Council could not see their way to agree to this.

The election since the last Council Meeting of four new members of the Society was reported, and six new members were also elected.

The Secretary reported a financial deficit upon the Annual Summer Excursion of £1 9s. 9d.

It was reported that the City Council contemplated making certain building alterations in the district between Love Street and the Baths, and it was resolved that the Secretary be instructed to write to the Town Clerk to the effect that, in the event of a new street being made in that district, this Council respectfully suggest that it be called "Barnston Street."

Mr. H. B. Dutton suggested that a visit to Erddig Hall and Park, near Wrexham, would be interesting to the members of the Society; and it was decided to endeavour to arrange a visit there in September.

The Curator reported that there were some bases of Corinthian columns upon the premises of the "Grotto Hotel," Bridge Street, Chester, and that Mr. Henry (the proprietor's manager) had offered to present them to the Society; the offer was gladly accepted, and Mr. G. W.

Haswell kindly undertook to remove the bases to the Museum.

The Secretary reported that application had been made by the Hon. Secretary of the Congress of Archæological Societies for the payment of this Society's subscription; and the Secretary was instructed to make enquiries as to what are the advantages of being in union with the Congress.

A Special Meeting of the Council was held on Monday, 13th August, 1906, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, for the purpose of meeting Mr. Nugent Monck, the Secretary to the English Drama Society, to discuss the proposed reproduction of the "Chester Mystery Plays"; details of the cost of reproduction, &c., were considered, and it was decided to publish preliminary notices to the effect that the Society, in co-operation with the English Drama Society, hope to reproduce the Plays at Whitsuntide 1907. Mr. H. B. Dutton suggested that a Public Meeting be called to enlist further support to the undertaking; it was also suggested that Lectures leading up to the Plays might be given during the ensuing session.

The Chairman reported that Mr. Philip Yorke had granted permission to the Society to visit Erddig Hall and Park, Wrexham, and the arrangements for the visit were left in the hands of the Chairman and Secretary.

At a Special Meeting of the Council, held on Friday, 8th October, 1906, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, seven new members were elected. With regard to the proposed reproduction of the "Chester Mystery Plays," a letter was received from the Dean of Chester, dissenting from the proposed revival.

The Secretary reported that Dr. T. N. Brushfield had promised to give a Paper upon "The Punishments and Amusements of the 17th Century," at the opening meeting of the session.

At a Special Meeting of the Council, held on Monday, 8th October, 1906, it was reported that the Mayor of Chester, in response to an informal request to convene and preside at a Public Meeting, undertook, upon receiving a formal requisition from the Council of this Society, to do so; and it was

Resolved:—"That the Council of the Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historic Society respectfully request the Mayor to call a Public Meeting, on Friday, the 19th October, 1906, at 3 p.m., to consider the proposal, emanating from the English Drama Society, to reproduce in Chester in 1907 the whole cycle of the 'Chester Mystery Plays.'"

A further letter from the Dean of Chester was read, notifying his disapproval of the revival of the Plays. The Manchester Public Free Libraries were elected to the list of members of the Society.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on Tuesday, 16th October, 1906, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, six new members were elected. A letter was received from Mr. W. W. Tasker, resigning his seat upon the Council in consequence of his inability to attend the meetings, which was received with regret.

It was reported that Professor Gollancz had consented to give a Paper upon the "Chester Mystery Plays," at the November Sessional Meeting.

With regard to the proposed transfer of the Museum Building, a draft scheme drawn up by the Museum Management Committee was received, which was found to coincide with the terms drawn up by this Society, with the exception that the terms of clause 2 in its conditions were not provided for, and the Secretary was instructed to reply to the Museum Management Committee to this effect.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on Tuesday, 20th November, 1906, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, six new members were elected, and three resignations reported.

An offer to exchange publications was received from the Yorkshire Architectural Society; and it was decided to ask them for a specimen copy of their publication. It was decided to continue to subscribe to the Congress of Archæological Societies. Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., was elected a representative of the Society upon the Grosvenor Museum Management Committee, in place of Mr. W. W. Tasker resigned.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on Tuesday, 15th January, 1907, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, the death of the Mayor of Chester (Mr. F. F. Brown), who was for many years a member of the Society, was reported, and the Secretary was instructed to convey to his family the sympathy of the Council in their bereavement. Two new members were elected.

Dr. J. C. Bridge kindly undertook to give two Papers before the Society, at the February and March Sessional Meetings respectively, entitled "Two Cheshire Soldiers of Fortune: Sir Hugh Calveley and Sir Robert Knolles."

The Hon. Curator reported that a cabinet would be required for the Library Card-Catalogue; also someone to be employed to write the cards; and he was authorised to procure them, and to proceed with the work as soon as possible.

It was decided to reproduce in the next Journal of the Society a photograph and biography of Dr. T. N. Brushfield. Mr. Frank Simpson was elected a member of the Sub-Committee appointed to revise the Rules of the Society, in the place of the late Mr. A. W. Butt.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on Tuesday, 19th February, 1907, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, the Secretary reported that Volume XIII. of the Society's Journal was in the press.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on Tuesday, 19th March, 1907, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, it was reported that Volume XIII. of the Society's Journal would be issued to the members by the end of April. One new member of the Society was elected.

A letter from Mr. F. H. Williams, of Brook Street, Chester, was read, to the effect that a manuscript which he believed belonged to the Library of the Dean and Chapter was among the books of this Society, and requesting that the matter be enquired into; and the Archdeacon was requested to do so, and that if Mr. Williams' statement be corroborated, the manuscript be returned to the Dean and Chapter.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on Monday, 6th May, 1907, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, a letter from the Rev. H. Grantham was received, offering to give a donation to the Society of £1 1s. towards the deficit incurred up to the 31st March, 1907; and a vote of thanks was accorded him for his kind gift, which was gladly accepted. One new member of the Society was elected, and one resignation reported.

The General Secretary submitted a Statement of Accounts for the year ending 31st March, 1907, which was approved, subject to audit, and ordered to be circulated with the Annual Report among the members. The Annual General Meeting of the members was fixed to take place on Tuesday, 28th May, 1907, at eight o'clock.

The following gentlemen were elected to represent the Society upon the Grosvenor Museum Management Com-

mittee for the ensuing year: The Venerable Archdeacon Barber, Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, Mr. Henry Taylor, Mr. F. Simpson, Mr. H. B. Dutton, and Mr. G. W. Haswell.

Mr. W. E. B. Whittaker intimated that a proposal had been made to make a survey and take plans and sections of the Roft Encampment at Marford, for the purpose of filing by the "Committee on Ancient Earthworks and Fortified Enclosures"; and desiring the advice and assistance of the Society, suggesting that the work should be carried out under the Society's *ægis*. It was decided to adopt the proposal, and Mr. Henry Taylor, Mr. William Shone, and Mr. W. E. B. Whittaker, were requested to deal with the matter on behalf of the Society.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on Tuesday, 28th May, 1907, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, Dr. J. C. Bridge reported that he had received an offer from Miss Tomlin, of "Estyn," Chester, to loan her collection of musical instruments to this Society for a period of five years, as she was leaving Chester. It was thought, however, that the collection was of general rather than particular interest to this Society, and Dr. Bridge was requested to thank Miss Tomlin for her kind offer, and suggest that the collection would be better placed in the custody of the Museum Management Committee.

The Chairman reported that Mr. T. S. Gleadowe (a Vice-President of the Society) had forwarded to him a cheque for £23 18s. 7d., for the purpose of extinguishing the deficit shewn by the Statement of Accounts for the past year; and it was

Resolved:—"That the Council of the Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historic Society beg to offer to Mr. T. S. Gleadowe their most warm thanks for his most generous gift to the funds of the Society, whereby the deficit on the Accounts has been wiped off."

Mr. Henry Taylor reported that he had received a cheque for £5 from Dr. T. N. Brushfield, of Budleigh-Salterton, Exeter, as a donation to the funds of the Society; and it was

Resolved:—"That the Council of the Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historic Society beg to offer to Dr. T. N. Brushfield their most warm thanks for his generous gift to the funds of the Society."

One new member of the Society was elected.

Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the members of the Society, held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Tuesday, 28th May, 1907, at 8 p.m.:—

Present: The Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, Mr. W. E. Brown, Mrs. W. E. Brown, Mr. Charles Blease, Dr. J. C. Bridge, Mr. H. B. Dutton, Mr. H. T. Dutton, Mr. Henry Taylor, Mr. H. Gleadowe, Mr. G. W. Haswell, Mr. F. W. Longbottom, Mr. C. H. Minshull, Mr. Robert Newstead, Mr. F. Simpson, Dr. H. Stolterfoth, Mr. W. W. Tasker, Mr. W. E. B. Whittaker, and Mr. Walter Conway (General Secretary).

The General Secretary read the Notice convening the Meeting.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting of members, held 15th May, 1906, were read, affirmed, and signed by the Chairman.

The Annual Report of the Council, the Hon. Treasurer's Statement of Accounts, and the Hon. Curator and Librarian's Report were taken as read; and it was proposed by the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Henry Taylor, and

Resolved:—"That the Report of the Council, together with the Hon. Curator and Librarian's Report, and the Hon. Treasurer's Statement of Accounts, be received, approved, and adopted."

The Chairman thereupon notified the members of the very generous donation of £23 18s. 7d. from Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, to clear the deficit at the end of the financial year; and he notified a further donation of £5 to the funds of the Society from Dr. T. N. Brushfield.

It was Proposed by Mr. W. W. Tasker, Seconded by Mr. C. Blease, and

Resolved:—"That the following retiring members of the Council be re-elected, viz.: Rev. H. Grantham, Mr. G. W. Haswell, Mr. F. W. Longbottom, and Mr. C. H. Minshull."

Proposed by Mr. W. E. Brown, Seconded by Mr. C. H. Minshull, and

Resolved:—"That a vote of thanks be presented to the donors of books and objects of antiquarian interest during the past year."

Proposed by Dr. Stolterfoth, Seconded by Mr. F. W. Longbottom: "That the Society record its deep debt of gratitude to the Chairman for the exceptional amount of time and trouble he has given in connection with the affairs of the Society." The proposition, being put to the meeting, was carried with acclamation.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

THE Council beg to submit to the members their Annual Report and Statement of Accounts for the year ending 31st March, 1907.

Six Meetings have been held during the Session, when the following Papers were read:—

16*th October*, 1906—Dr. T. N. Brushfield.

"The Punishments and Amusements of the 17th Century"; illustrated by Lantern Slides.

20*th November*, 1906—Prof. H. Gollancz, M.A., D.Lit.
"The Chester Mystery Plays."

18*th December*, 1906—Rev. F. Sanders, M.A., F.S.A.
"The Quakers in Chester under the Protectorate."

15*th January*, 1907—Mr. Frank Simpson.
"The River Dee"; illustrated by Lantern Slides.

Two Lectures upon "Two Cheshire Soldiers of Fortune of the 14th Century," by Dr. Joseph C. Bridge, M.A., F.S.A.:—
19*th February*, 1907—"Sir Hugh Calveley";
19*th March*, 1907—"Sir Robert Knolles";
Illustrated by Lantern Slides.

The Annual Summer Excursion took place on Thursday, 19th July, 1906, to Park Hall, Oswestry (the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Wynne Corrie), Whittington, and Halston, a full account of which appears in Volume XIII. of the Society's Journal.

On Tuesday, the 11th September, 1906, an Excursion was also made to Erddig Hall and Park, Wrexham, by kind invitation of Philip Yorke, Esq. Wrexham Station was reached at 2-44 p.m., from whence a special tramcar conveyed the party to Felin Puleston Mill. After a short walk the entrance of the woods was reached, where the members were cordially welcomed by Mr. and Mrs. Yorke, who acted as guides through the woods and park. The avenue of giant silver-beeches was particularly admired, the lofty trunks and arching branches, which assume the form of a roof, giving the whole an appearance which has been aptly described as "The Temple of Peace." Watt's Dyke (marking the ancient boundary between England and Wales) was the next feature; and several verses written by Thomas Churchyard, a 16th century poet, descriptive of the ancient racial feuds, which were inscribed on boards near by, were read with much interest. Passing through the gardens, the Hall was reached, where tea was taken

by invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Yorke. An inspection of the Chapel, Library, and other rooms was then made; and both the house itself (which was built in 1715) and the extensive collection of treasures which it contains presented such a wide field of interest, that they could only be given a somewhat hurried inspection, owing to the limited amount of time available. The party returned to Chester at 7-10 p.m.

On Thursday, the 29th November, 1906, the English Drama Society gave two representations, at the Music Hall, Chester, of the three Nativity Plays, which form part of the series of the ancient Chester Mystery Plays.

Volumes XII. and XIII. (New Series) of the Society's Journal have been issued to the Members during the past year.

The Hon. Treasurer's Statement of Accounts for the year is submitted, shewing a deficit of £23 18s. 7d., which is carried forward; this does not, however, include the cost of printing and publishing Volume XIII., just issued.

It is gratifying to find that the appeal for increased membership has met with a very satisfactory response, 41 new members having been elected during the year, making 216 in all. There is, however, still urgent need for further support; and if the membership can again be similarly increased during the ensuing year, it will place the Society in a more satisfactory financial position. The Council, therefore, again appeal to members to use every endeavour to obtain more members.

The following gentlemen have been elected to represent the Society upon the Grosvenor Museum Management Committee for the ensuing year, viz.:—The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, Mr. Henry Taylor, Mr. F. Simpson, Mr. H. B. Dutton, and Mr. G. W. Haswell.

Under Rule 4, the following members of the Council retire, but are eligible for re-election, viz.:—Rev. H.

Grantham, Mr. G. W. Haswell, Mr. F. W. Longbottom, and Mr. C. H. Minshull. Nominations should reach the Secretary not later than Tuesday, the 21st May, 1907.

Mr. W. W. Tasker, owing to frequent absence from Chester, has resigned his seat upon the Council.

THE HON. CURATOR AND LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

Your Curator has much pleasure in submitting his Report for the year ending March 1907.

As will be seen on reference to the subjoined list, there has been a marked falling off in the number of gifts and additions to the Society's Museum, due, in a large measure, to the absence of any extensive excavations in the City.

The work of cataloguing the books has been almost completed; and the card-catalogue will be ready for use by the end of the present month, or early in June. The kwor of re-writing the cards from the slips has, unfortunately, entailed considerable expense, and more than doubled the cost that was anticipated by the Council. Apart from the work of copying the slips, the Curator of the Museum (Mr. A. Newstead) has devoted an enormous amount of time and attention to the preparation of the catalogue, and the best thanks of the Council are due to him for his services. This experience will, however, prove of great value to him; and should materially facilitate the work of reference by the members of this Society.

Additions to the Museum.

10 *Roman Coins*—Chester (the late F. Potts' Collection). *Donor*, Mr. Granger, Junr.

Elizabethan Coin (Gold)—Queen's Park, Chester. *Donor*, Master Fred. Lindop.

Roman Coin (Tiberius, A.D. 14-37*)*—Chester. Purchased.

Collection of Medals and Coins. *Donor*, Mrs. H. T. Brown.

Fragment of Roman Glass — Submerged Forest, Meols. *Donors*, Messrs. F. W. Longbottom and A. Newstead.

Mediæval Hone or Sharpener—Submerged Forest, Meols. *Donors*, Messrs. F. W. Longbottom and A. Newstead.

Three Bones of Bos longifrons—Submerged Forest, Meols. *Donors*, Messrs. F. W. Longbottom and A. Newstead.

Prehistoric Stone Hammer — Submerged Forest, Meols. *Donors*, Messrs. F. W. Longbottom and A. Newstead.

Prehistoric Flint Chipping — Submerged Forest, Meols. *Donors*, Messrs. F. W. Longbottom and A. Newstead.

Two Stone Bases of Roman Columns—"The Grotto" Inn, Bridge Street, Chester. *Donor*, Mr. Henry.

Pair of Pattens and fragments of Roman Roofing Tiles. Purchased.

Roofing Tile (period doubtful) — Conway. *Donor*, Miss Elliott.

Fragments of Pottery, Bronze Pins, and a curious figure in pipe-clay of a female suckling two infants (all of the Roman period). Purchased.

Additions to the Library

Account of the principal events in the life of Uriah Plant of Winsford, Written by himself (1829). *Donor*, Rev. F. Sanders.

*Antiqvarista Tidskrift för Sverige, Parts 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 18.

"Antiquary" (1906) Purchased.

*"Archæologia Cambrensis," 6th Series, Vol. VI., Parts 2, 3, and 4 (1906); Vol. VII., Part 1 (1907).

*"Bonner Jahrbücher" (1906).

*Buckinghamshire, Records of, Vol. IX. (1906).

*Cambridge, Proceedings of the Antiquarian Society of, No. XLVI. (1904-5); No. XLVII. (1906).

*Cambridge Antiquarian Society. "Place Names of Bedfordshire," by Rev. W. Skeat (1906).

"Chester Cambrian Societies," by Thos. Edwards (1760-1906). *Donor*, Mr. R. A. Yerburgh.

"Chester Mystery Plays, their origin and purpose," by the Venerable Archdeacon Barber (1906).

"Connoisseur" (June 1906). *Donor*, Mr. Frank Freeth.

*Essex Archæological Transactions, Vol. X., Part 1 (1906).

"Index Library," Parts 103-106 (March-December 1906). Purchased.

*Ireland, Journal of the Royal Society of, Vol. XXXVI., Parts 1-4 (March-December 1906).

*Lancashire and Cheshire Institutes, Union of. 67th Annual Meeting, at Chester, September 27th, 1906.

"Melandra Castle." Report of the Manchester and District Branch of Classical Association, edited by R. S. Conway; introduction by Rev. E. L. Hicks (1906). *Donor*, Mr. W. E. Plummer.

"Monumental and other Inscriptions of the Churches of Stoak, Backford, and Thornton-le-Moors, in the County of Chester" (1904), by J. Paul Rylands and F. C. Beazley. Purchased.

*Montgomeryshire, Collections Historical and Archæological relating to. Vol. XXXIV., Part 2 (1906).

Poetry relating to a deceased Chester Postman (1833). *Donor*, Mr. C. P. Cockrill.

19 Portraits of the Glynne Family, Hawarden.

*Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. "Feet of Fines for Essex," Part 7; "Chester Freeman Rolls" (1392-1700), Part 1; "Miscellanies," Part 52 (1906).

Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in the Tullie House Museum, Carlisle, Catalogue of, by F. Haverfield (1899). *Donor*, Dr. Stolterfoth.

*Shropshire, Transactions of Archæological Society, Third Series, Vols. VI. and VII. (1906-7).

*Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report of (1905).

*Somersetshire Archæological Society, Proceedings of, Vol. LII. (1906).

"Story of Chester," by James Williams (1907). *Donor*, The Author.

St. Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester, Church of. *Donor*, The Venerable Archdeacon Barber.

*Sussex Archœological Collections, Vol. XLIX. (1906).

*Surrey Archæological Collections, Vol. XLIX. (1906).

*Thoresby Society Publications, Vol. XIV., Part 1; Vol. XV., Part 1 (1905).

Wigan, History of the Church and Manor of, by the Rev. George T. O. Bridgeman (1888). *Donor*, Miss Grey.

*Yorkshire Archæological Society, Journal of, and List of Members, Parts 73-74 (1906-7).

Marked * are by exchange.

R. NEWSTEAD, A.L.S., &c.,
Hon. Curator and Librarian.

16th MAY, 1907.

THE CHESTER AND NORTH WALES ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC SOCIETY.

Statement of Receipts and Payments for the year ending 31st March, 1907.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
To Subscriptions	119	14	0
„ Donations	3	1	0
„ Dividend on London & North-Western Railway Stock	11	5	8
„ Sale of Journals	12	3	0
„ Admission to Lectures	5	9	0
Balance—deficit, carried down	24	1	9
	£175	14	5

PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.
By Grosvenor Museum Management Committee	60	0	0
„ Museum and Lecture Expenses	1	19	9
„ Printing, Postages, and Stationery	21	4	1
„ Advertising	6	18	6
„ Subscriptions to kindred Societies	2	8	0
„ Secretary's Salary	15	15	0
„ Library Expenses	2	11	2
„ Miscellaneous Expenses	2	13	9
„ Printing and Publishing Vol. XII. of Journal	55	11	2
„ Printing and Publishing Paper upon "The Glynnes"	6	13	0
	£175	14	5
By deficit brought down	24	1	9
Less Surplus from last Account	0	3	2
Deficit carried forward	£23	18	7

2nd MAY, 1907—*Examined and found correct,*

C. COPPACK, C.A.,
HON. AUDITOR.

LIST OF MEMBERS 1908

Abraham, T. Fell, 53, Bidston Road, Birkenhead
Aldersey, Hugh, J.P., Aldersey Hall, Chester
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Thomas, Dr. F. Dodd, Pepper Street, Chester
Thomas, W. C , Northgate Street, Chester
Thomas, Dr. A. E., Public Health Office, Forest House, Chester
Thompson, Edward P., Paul's Moss, Whitchurch, Salop
Thompson, Walter Stuart, Sexton Barns, Peterborough
Tomkinson, James, M.P., Willington Hall, Tarporley, Cheshire
Tollemache, Henry, J.P., Dorfold, Nantwich
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Trevor, Mrs. Warren, Redland House, Hough Green, Chester

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White, John, J.P., Moore Hall, Warrington
Whittaker, Wm. E. B., Broughton, Chester
Williams, D. A. V. Colt, Manley Hall, Helsby, Warrington
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Williams, Isaac, 20, Cuppin Street, Chester
Williams, James, 24, Hough Green, Chester
Williams, T. Alfred, 15, Cheyney Road, Chester
Wood, J. M.
Wood, R. H., F.S.A., Belmont, Sidmouth
Wright, Rev. H. H., M.A., The Precentory, Chester
Wyld, Norman, 11, City Walls, Chester
Wyndham, Right Hon. George, M.P., Saighton Grange, Chester

Yorke, Philip, J.P., Erddig Park, Wrexham
Yorke, Mrs , Erddig Park, Wrexham

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The Chester Mystery Plays

THE PROPOSED REVIVAL IN CHESTER

IN July of 1906 a proposal was brought before the Council of the Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historic Society, by the English Drama Society, to reproduce in Chester at Whitsuntide the whole cycle of ancient "Chester Mystery Plays."

The English Drama Society, having already given a representation of three of the Plays (the "Nativity" group) in London in June 1906, and having met with much success, suggested the reproduction of the whole cycle of Plays at Chester, and approached the Archæological Society with the view of ascertaining whether local interest would be sufficient to warrant the reproduction, and also to enlist the support of the citizens of Chester generally.

The proposal was carefully considered by the Council of the Archæological Society, who eventually passed a Resolution to the effect that a revival of these Plays would, in their opinion, be exceedingly valuable from an historical, antiquarian, and educational point of view,

and expressing its desire to co-operate with the English Drama Society in the representations.

The Council approached the Mayor of Chester (Alderman Robert Lamb) with a request that he would convene a Public Meeting at the Town Hall, Chester, and the Mayor kindly consented to do so, on Friday, the 19th October, 1906, at three o'clock p.m., with the object of bringing the proposals of the Drama Society before the public, and to ascertain their feeling with regard to them.

The Meeting was duly held, the Deputy Mayor (Alderman Dr. John Roberts, J.P.) presiding in the unavoidable absence of the Mayor. A letter from the Dean of Chester to the Mayor was read, signifying his disapproval of the proposed revival, and taking exception to the representation of religious subjects by a Drama Society.

The Bishop of Chester expressed his doubts as to whether the representations could be given in a manner which would satisfy the requirements of reverence, but he thought that this was more likely to be accomplished by professional players, such as those of the English Drama Society, who would approach the work with literary sympathy, than by local amateurs. If, however, it could be shewn that the representations would meet these requirements, he promised that the project should receive his support.

Mr. Nugent Monck, Secretary to the English Drama Society, then explained the character of the Plays, and

the proposed mode of representation, assuring those present that the players who would take part in the representation would do so with all reverence. Moreover, he undertook to submit the whole text of the Plays for revision by the Council of the Archæological Society.

The Bishop suggested that a preliminary representation of some of the Plays should be arranged; and it was eventually decided that the three "Nativity" Plays should be represented in the Music Hall at an early date, when an indication of their reception by the public, either favourable or otherwise, could be taken.

Resolutions were passed recording the opinion of the Meeting that a revival of these Plays in Chester at Whitsuntide was desirable, and pledging itself to support the undertaking by assisting to raise in the City and County the necessary Guarantee Fund; and a Committee was appointed, with instructions to arrange for the preliminary representations.

The three Plays, viz.: "The Salutation and Nativity," "The Play of the Shepherds," and "The Adoration of the Magi," were accordingly given in the Music Hall, Chester, on the Afternoon and Evening of Thursday, the 29th November, 1906, both representations being well attended; and judging from the audiences, both by their numbers and the interested and reverent manner in which they witnessed the Plays, the representations were pronounced a success from an artistic and antiquarian and from a religious point of view.

The production of the Plays was however very costly, although the preliminary representations may be said to have paid their way; and under the circumstances the Committee did not feel justified in proceeding with the reproduction of the whole cycle of Plays; and accordingly

Resolved :—" That the Committee, though much impressed with the interesting character of the Plays, and the reverent manner in which they were represented, regret that they cannot undertake the responsibility of arranging for the reproduction of the whole cycle, in consequence of the exceptionally heavy expenditure required."

Three Chester Whitsun Plays.

With an Introduction and Notes

by

JOSEPH C. BRIDGE,

M.A., D.Mus., F.S.A.

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Chester:
PHILLIPSON AND GOLDER.

1906.

Chester Mystery Plays,

NOVEMBER 29th, 1906.

The following Music was performed:—

IN "THE SALUTATION AND NATIVITY PLAY":

1. "Hec est ara Dei celi," to music adapted from the York Plays.

BEFORE "THE SHEPHERDS' PLAY":

2. The Shepherds' Trio, "As I outrode this enderes night," from the Coventry Plays.

IN "THE SHEPHERDS' PLAY":

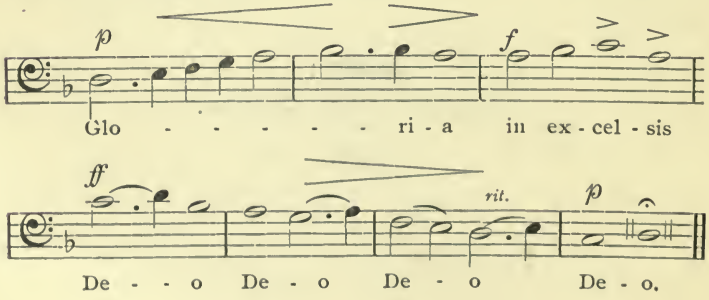
3. "Gloria in Excelsis," to traditional setting from Chester Plays. This being the only music now remaining.

4. Before the Play of the "Three Kings" was sung the "Lullaby" from the Coventry Plays: "Lullay thou little tiny child."

5. Between the Third and Fourth Plays (which were amalgamated) was sung the traditional Carol: "We Three Kings of Orient are."

JOSEPH C. BRIDGE.

The only remaining Music of the Chester Plays from the M.S. of James Miller, written in 1607. British Museum. Harleian 2124. (Sung by the Angel to the Shepherds.)



PREFACE.

THE City of Chester has a glorious literary heritage in its Cycle of Mystery Plays, written probably in the 14th century. For nearly three hundred years they were acted by the citizens: from father to son descended the traditional rendering, and deep and keen was the interest taken by all concerned, until the opposition of the Church, at the close of the 16th century, brought the representations to an end.

The plays were performed on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in Whitsun week, on movable waggons called "pageants," and started at the Abbey Gate in presence of the Abbot. Passing before the Mayor at the High Cross, they traversed the City in regular order, and played at appointed Stations, where the competition for a suitable "stand" was so keen that in one case it ended in a lawsuit. Each "pageant" and play was provided by one of the City Companies or trade-gilds, though sometimes the gilds shared the expense; one Company using the "pageant" on Monday and the other on Tuesday.

If any gild showed a desire to shirk such representation the Mayor could, and did, issue a notice commanding a performance. It was also the Mayor's duty, as officer of the King's peace, to issue a proclamation on these occasions, and the regulations for the control of the Plays and populace were most stringent and comprehensive.

The Citizens had to rise "very betimes" in order to get through their arduous task, and at York a proclamation ran thus:—"That every player that shall play be ready in his pagiaunt at convenyant tyme, that is to say, at the mydhowre betwix iiijth & vth of the cloke in the mornynge, and then all oyer pageantz fast

foll ouying ilk on after oyer as yer course is, without tarieng. Sub pena facienda camere vi^{s} viii$^{d.}$"

The authorship of the plays is generally attributed to Ralph Higden, the author of "Polychronicon" and a monk of Chester, where he is said to have died at a great age, in 1353. But there is no evidence to justify such a definite statement as this. All we know of the origin of the plays is found in the following: —

i. A "Banes," XV. Cent., giving Sir John Arneway as the "deviser." He was Mayor 1268-1276;

ii. A Proclamation, *c.* 1520, giving Arneway as the "deviser," and Francis, a monk, as the writer;

iii. A "Banes," *c.* 1570, giving Arneway as "deviser," and a "Dom Randall" as the writer;

iv. An account of the Plays, by Archdeacon Rogers, *c.* 1575; one version gives "Randall Higden" as the writer, and places the time in the Mayoralty of Arneway, 1328; the other version gives "one Randoll a monke," Arneway as Mayor, and the date 1339;

v. An endorsement on a Proclamation in the Harleian MSS., supposed to be written by one of the Holmes', *c.* 1628, stating "Hignet" was the writer;

vi. A similar endorsement on a copy of the Plays of about the same date.

If the religious tendency of the Chester Plays was owing to a guiding hand from the Monastery, that hand was, according to our earliest tradition, one Henry Francis, whose name occurs in deeds dated 1377-82.

It is quite possible that Henry Francis and Ralph Higden may have translated and revised some of the Plays, and rendered literary help in reducing the cycle to unity, and that is all we can say with safety.

A close study of the Plays seems to lead to the following conclusions :—"In approaching the consideration of the four great cycles of Miracle Plays still extant (the York, Towneley, Chester, and Coventry), it must be remembered that no one of them, in the form in which it has come down to us, can be regarded as a homogeneous whole, the work of a single author. . . . . In the Chester cycle, of which we have no extant manuscript *earlier than* 1591, the number of the Plays is only twenty-five, and marks of amalgamation are easily traced. Thus, each cycle, as it has come down to us, must be regarded rather as an organic growth than as the work of a single author."[1]

The earliest authoritative allusion to the Plays, with date, is in the Baker's Charter, 2 Edward IV., 1462, where it is recited that "there hath been tyme out of mind a company of bakers . . . and to be redy to pay the costes & expenses & play & light of Corpus Christi as oft-tymes as it shall be assessed," and the last time of performance, wholly or in part, was in 1576, though the Archbishop of York had inhibited them as far back as 1571.[2] When the citizens found the Plays were to be entirely "things of the past," it is probable that some of them wished to have a "book of the words," and this will account for the fact that the MSS extant all date from about this period. They are :—

a. 1591, by "Edward Gregorie a Scholar of Bunbury"; now in possession of the Duke of Devonshire.

b. 1592 } by George Bellin. B.Mus.; add. MS. 10305;
c. 1600 } B.Mus.; Harl. 2013.

d. 1604, by William Bedford; Bodleian.

e. 1607, by James Miller, B.Mus.; Harl. 2124.

George Bellin was an Ironmonger and Clerk of the Parish of Holy Trinity, and therefore looked upon

1—Pollard, "Miracle Plays," Introduction, xxx.
2—There are indications in Bellin's MSS. of a performance in 1600, but all attempts to trace it have failed.

as a competent scribe. He must have borrowed and copied each play from the Gild that possessed it, for the original and authentic play book was lost as far back as 1567. The language of these plays is of the early part of the 15th or the end of the 14th century, but, as stated before, it is highly probable that they existed even before that date.

There is little doubt that some of the plays are translations from French and Latin originals.

Our indebtedness to France in these matters is best shown in Thomas Wright's introduction to the "Chester Plays," published by the Shakesperian Society. He says:—

"How far the English sets of Mysteries, which we find in the 15th Century, and which, perhaps, existed in the 14th, were translations from French originals, I am inclined to doubt; but if any were so, the Chester Mysteries appear to have the greatest claim to that distinction.

"In notes to the present volumes I have shown several instances of similarity between these Chester Plays and some of the printed French Mysteries of the earlier half of the 16th Century, which I suspect to be only reproductions or alterations from older French compositions of the same description. Mr. Collier had previously pointed out one or two remarkable coincidences, in passages taken from the Chester and French Mysteries, in his History of Dramatic Poetry (Vol. II., pp. 132, &c.)"

It has sometimes been stated that the Plays were performed in French and Latin. That is not possible. The crowd went to listen and enjoy these plays, and their ordinary conversation was in English. French was the language of the Court and of official proclamations, but not of the common people, not of the tradesmen in the town or the members of the trade gilds.

Official proclamations concerning the Plays were often in French or Latin, but the Plays were certainly given in English.

Before the Plays commenced it was customary to send mounted messengers round the city, who read the "Banes" or "Banns" announcing the Plays, and Bellin has left us a manuscript of one which has been often printed. But a much older, more interesting, and valuable "Banes" has been found by Canon Morris amongst the Harleian MSS. (not numbered or catalogued), and has been printed in his "Chester during the Plantagenet and Tudor Period."*

First, we must notice that it is in the same metre and rhyming stanza as the Plays themselves, and may have been written with them. Secondly, it sheds light on some very important points. Here is one:—

> The worshipfull wyves of this towne
> Ffyne our Lady thassumpcon
> It to bryng forth they be bowne
> And meyntene with all their might.†

Here we have "The Assumption" definitely classed as one of the Chester series (a point hitherto unknown), and also, we see that it was provided by women; this is unique, I think. In none of the other cycle centres do the women manage a Play by themselves.§

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* By his kind permission reprinted here.

† It is worth noting, that in 1483, at York, four men came before the Mayor, "& by the assent of all the Innholders of this said Citie tuke upon them to bring furth yerely during the term of VIII. yere, then next folluying the pagent of the Coronacion of our Lady perteyning to the said Innholders, etc." It seems likely, then, that the "worshipful wyves" were the ale-wives of Chester, and it is by no means improbable that Chester again followed the lead of York. As Mrs. Green says, "Cooks and brewers and hostellers were naturally deeply interested in the preservation of the good old customs, and it was, in some cases, certainly this class (the most powerful in a mediæval borough), who raised the protest against the indifference and neglect of the townspeople for public processions and merry-making, because 'thereby the victuallers lose their money'; and who insisted on the revival of these festivals for the encouragement of trade." (Town Life XV. Century, I., p. 153).

§ Canon Morris says: "It is omitted from Bellin's transcript in 1600, and was, in all probability, discontinued in Edward VI.'s reign, in deference to the religious feeling of the time."

Again,

"Also Maister Maire of this Citie
Withall his bretheryn accordingly
A solempte procession ordent hath he
To be done to the best
Uppon the day of Corpus Christi
The blessed Sacrament carried shalbe
And a Play set forth by the Clergy,
In honor of the fest.
Many torches there may you see
Marchaunts and craftys of this Citie
By order passing in their degree
A goodly sight that day.
They come from Saynt Maries on the Hill.
The Church of Saynt Johns untill
And there the Sacrament leve they will
The sauth as I you say."

It will be seen that the Mayor and Corporation had ordered a procession and that the clergy were to provide a play.

This may account for the transference of the gild Plays to Whitsun week. The Clergy, anxious to have the Corpus Christi procession *to themselves* without the Trade Gilds, may have said to the citizens "If you will have your plays at another time we will, at our own charge and expense, provide a play on Corpus Christi, so that there shall be no loss to the Citizens in that respect."[1] Thus the plays got transferred to Whitsuntide.

My third quotation must be :—

"Sir John Arnway was Maire of this citie
When these Playes were begun truly
God grant us merely
And see theym many a yere."

This is the earliest mention of their origin.

1.—This is precisely what happened at York, where after 1426 the Corpus Christi procession and the plays were separated.

In addition to the ordinary series of Mystery Plays, we find that the Play of the "Assumption" was performed at the High Cross in 1488, and before Prince Arthur in 1497, both at the Abbey Gates and at the High Cross; and also in 1515 in St. John's Churchyard. We find, also, the Cappers, Pewterers, and Smiths undertaking Plays in 1520-1; and in 1529 "King Robert of Sicily" was performed at the High Cross.

The Mayor of the City had also a Midsummer Show or procession, with giants and other monstrosities, but this had nothing whatever to do with the Mystery Plays; though occasionally some of the best known actors were retained to ride in the procession in the dresses which they had worn in the Plays.

In conclusion, let us remember that these plays *were the only Bible* possessed by the people in the middle ages. For the sake of dramatic contrast they sometimes contained frivolous language, yet the main bulk of them is thoroughly religious in tone and style, and at Chester an expositor also appears to explain and enforce the moral lesson of each play.

In addition to the religious element there are historical, dramatic, and philological aspects to be considered, and altogether there seems no reason why, with reverent care on the part of players and audience, these plays may not still impart to us valuable instruction. "Not only do they bear witness to the spirit of the times in which they were written, but they tell us that we too should let the 'mysteries' which they represent, kindle in our hearts enduring gratitude, and produce in our lives corresponding graces and virtues."

Although we have used the title "Mystery Plays," it is right to say that this was not the title used in Old England. It is believed that Dodsley, about 1750, was the first to apply the French name of "Mysteries." Abroad there was a distinction drawn between Plays on the Miracles of the Saints and Mysteries drawn from the Bible narrative, but this division did not exist

in England, and Chaucer and other old writers always refer to "Miracles." Those who wish for more general knowledge on this interesting subject should read "English Miracle Plays," by A. W. Pollard. Clarendon Press, 7/6; and "The Mediæval Stage," by E. K. Chambers; Clarendon Press, 25/-; while further information respecting the Chester Plays may be found in "Chester during the Plantagenet and Tudor Periods," by Dr. Morris, Giles Griffith, Chester (subscription price £1 1s.); and in articles in "Chester Archæological Society's Journal," New Series, Vol. IX.; and the "Chester Queen's School Annual" for May, 1898, Phillipson & Golder. The Early English Text Society has issued Volume I. of a critical edition of the Plays, price 15/-, and the remainder is preparing for the press.

The following Plays have been printed from Thomas Wright's edition in the Shakespeare Society's publications, and from the E.E.T. Society edition, by kind permission of Dr. Furnivall. They have been condensed and the language slightly modernized for dramatic representation by the English Drama Society, under the direction of Mr. Nugent Monck.

JOSEPH C. BRIDGE.

Chester,
Nov., 1906.

The Banes or Proclamation of the Plays.

The Banes or Proclamation of the Playes.

. . . . . .

The comen bannes to be proclaymed and Ryddon with the Stewardys of every occupacon :—

Lordings Royall and Reverentt
Lovelie ladies that here be lentt
Sovereigne Citizens hether am I sent
A message for to say.

I pray you all that be present
That you will here with good intent
And all your eares to be lent
Hertfull I you pray.

Our worshipfull mair of this Citie
With all his royall cominaltie
Solem pagens ordent hath he
At the fest of Whitsonday tyde.

How every craft in his decree
Bryng forth their playes solemplie
I shall declare you brefely
Yf ye will awhile abyde.

The worshipfull tanners of this towne
Bryng forth the heavenly manshon
Th'orders of angells and theire creation
According done to the best.

And when the angells be made so clere
Then folowyth the falling of Lucifere
To bring forth this play with good chere
The tanners be full prest.

You worshipfull men of the draperye
Loke that paradyse be all redye
Prepare also the mappa mundi
Adam and eke Eve.

The waterlleders and drawers of Dee
Loke that Noyes shipp be sett on hie
That you lett not the storye
And then shall you well chrue.

The barburs and wax channdlers also that day
Of the Patriarche you shall play
Abram, that put was to assay
To sley Isack his sonne.

The cappers and pynners forth shall bring
Balack that fears [fierce] and mightie Kyng
And Balam on an asse sytting:
Loke that this be done.

Youe wrights and slaters will be fayne
Bring forth your cariage of Marie myld quene,
And of Octavian so cruell and kene
And also of Sybell the sage.

For findyng of that Royal thing
I grant you all the blessing
Of the high imperiall King
Both the maister and his page.

Paynters glasiars and broderers in fer
Have taken on theym with full good chere
That the Sheppards play then shall appere
And that with right good wyll.

The vynteners then as doth befall
Bringe forth the 3 Kings Royall
Of Colyn or pagent memoryall
And worthy to appere.

Then shall you see how that Kynges all
Came bouldly into the hall
Before Herode proude in paulle
Of Crysts byrth to heare.

The mercers worshipfull of degre
The presentation that have yee
Hit falleth best for your see
By right reason and style
Of caryage I have no doubt
Both within and without
It shall be deckyd yt all the Rowte
Full gladly on it shall be to loke
With sundry cullors it shall glime
Of velvit satten and damaske fine
Taffyta sersnett of poppyngee grene.

The gouldsmyths then full soone will hye
And masons theyre craft to magnifye
Theis two crafts will theim applye
Theyre worshipp for to wyne
How Herode King of Galalye
For that intent Cryst to distrye
Slew the Innocents most cruely
Of tow yeres and within.

Semely smythis also in hyght
A lovely caryage the will dyght
Candilmas day for soth it hyght
The find it with good will.

The buchers pagene shall not be myst
How Satan tempted our Savyour Cryst
It is an history of the best
As witnesseth the gospell.

Nedys must I rehers the glover
The give me gloves and gay gere
The find the toumbs of Lazarey
That pagene cometh next.

Also the Corvesers with all their myght
The fynde full fayre syght
Jerusalem their caryage hyght
For so sayth the text.

And the bakers also be dene
The find the Maunday as I wene
It is a carriage full well besene
As then it shall appeare.

Flechers bowyers with great honors
The Cowpers find the Tormentors
That bobbyde God with gret honors
As he sat in his chere [chair].

The Iron mongers find a caryage good
How Jesus dyed on ye rode
And shed for us his precyus blud
The find it in fere.

Cryst after his passion
Brake Hell for our redempcion
That find the cookes and hostelers of this towne
And that with full good chere.

Also the skynners they be boune
With great worshipp and renowne
They find the Resurection
Fayre maye them befall.

Sadlers and Foysters ("Fusterers") have the good grace
They find the Castell of Emawse
Where Crist appered to Cleophas
A faire pagend you shall see.

Also the Taylers with trew Intent
Have taken on them verament
The Assencyon by one assent
To bringe it forth full right.

Fysshe mongers men of faith
As that day will doe their stayth
To bringe there caryage furth in trayth
Wyt Sonday it hight.

The worshipfull wyves of this towne
Ffyne of our lady thassumpcon
It to bryng forth they be bowne
And meyntene with all theyre might.[1]

The Shermen will not [be] behynd
Butt bryng theire cariage with good mynde
The pagent of prophettys they do fynd
That prophecied ffull truly
Off the coming of Anticrist
That goodys ffaith wold resist
That cariage I warrand shall not myst
Butt sett forth full dewly.

1—Played in 1488.

The hewsters that be men full sage
They bryng forth a wurthy cariage
That is a thing of grett costage
Antycryst hit hight.[1]

They weyvers in very dede
Ffynd the day of Dame, well may they spede
I graunt them holly to theire neede
The blysse of heven bright.

Sovereigne syrs to you I say
And to all this ffayre cuntre
That played shalbe this godely play
In the whitson weke
That is brefely for to sey
Uppon Monday Tuysday and Wennysday
Whoo lust to see theym he may
And non of theym to sek.

"*Erased in the Booke.*"

Also maister maire of this Citie
Withall his bretheryn accordingly
A solempne procession ordent hath he
To be done to the best
Appon the day of Corpus Christi
The blessed sacrament caried shalbe
And a play sett forth by the clergye
In honor of the fest
Many torches there may you see
Marchaunts and craftys of this citie
By order passing in their degree
A goadly sight that day
They come from Saynt Maries on the Hill
The Church of Saynt Johns untill
And there the sacrament leve they will
The sauth [sooth] as I you say

Whoo so comyth these plays to see
With good devocon merelye
Hertely welcome shall he be
And have right good chere.
Sir John Arnway was maire of this citie
When these playes were begon truly
God graunt us merely
And see theym many a yere.

Now have I done that lyeth in me
To procure this solempnitie
That these playes contynued may be
And well sett fourth alway.

Jhu [Jesu] Crist that syttys on hee
And his blessed mother Marie [*erased*]
Save all this goodely company
And kepe you nyght and day.

1—*See another copy of the banes.* "First with his Doctor that godlye may expounde, and Enocke and Hely persons walking one grounde."

2—This copy of the "Banes" is altogether different from that given by Ormerod, and has been overlooked by previous editors of the "Chester Mysteries."—*Rupert Morris.*

THE
CHESTER
WHITSUN
PLAYES.

The Salutation and Nativity.

The Sixth Pageant.

The Wryghtes and Sklaters' Plaie.

"The Salutation and Nativity."

[ENTER GABRIEL.

Gabriel.

Hail be thou, Mary, maiden free,
Full of grace! God is with thee.
Among all women blessed thou be
And in the fruit of thy body.

Maria.

Ah, Lord that sits high in see
That wondrously now marvels me
A simple maiden of my degree
Be greet thus graciously!

Gabriel.

Mary, ne dread thee nought this case
With great God found thou hase
Amongst all other special grace.
Therefore Mary, thou mone
Conceive and bear, I tell thee
A child, his name Jesu shall be
So great shall never be none as he
And called God's Son.

And our Lord God, believe thou me
Shall give him David his father's see
In Jacob's house reign shall he,
With full might ever more.
And he that shall be born of thee
Endless life in him shall be
That such renown and royalty
Had never none before.

Maria.

How may this be? Thou art so bright;
In sin know I no worldly wight.

Gabriel.

The Holy Ghost shall in thee light
From God in majesty.
Therefore that Holy—as I have hight—
That thou shalt bear through God's might
His Son shall called be.

Maria.

Now sith that God will it so be
And such grace hath sent to me
Blessed ever more be he
To please him I am paid.
Lo God's chosen meekly here
And hold God prince of power.
Lief that it fall in such manner
This word that thou hast said.

Tunc ibit Angelus et salutabit Elizabeth.*

Maria.

Elizabeth, neece, God thee See!

Elizabeth.

Mary, blessed mote thou be.
And the fruit that comes of thee
Among women all.

---

* In another version, "Tunc ibit Angelus, et Maria salutabit Elizabeth."

Wondrously now marvels me
That Mary, God's mother free
Greets me thus, of simple degree,
Lord! how may this befall?

Blessed be thou ever for-thy[1]
That lived so well and steadfastly
For that was said to thee, lady
Fulfilled and done shall be.

[MARIA gaudens incipiet canticum Magnificat.]

Maria.

Elizabeth therefore will I,
Thank the Lord, king of mercy,
With joyful mirth and melody
And laud to his liking
'Magnificat' while I have tome[2]
'Anima mea dominum'
To Christ, that in my kind now come,
Devoutly I will sing.

And for my Ghost joyed hase[3]
In God my heale and all my grace
—For meekness he see in me was,
His fear of mean degree—
Therefore bless me well, may
All generations for aye;
Much has God done for me to-day.
His name aye hallowed be!

Much has that Lord done for me
That most is in his majesty
All princes ne passes in postie[4]
As sheweth well by this.
Therefore with full heart and free
His name always hallowed be
And honoured evermore be he
On high in heaven bliss.

1.—for-thy—therefore.
2.—tome—time.
3.—"and my spirit hath rejoiced."—This and the four following verses constitute a very interesting mediæval paraphrase of the "Magnificat."
4.—postie—power.

As he is bowne to do mercy
From progeny to progeny
And all that dread him verily
His talent to fulfil.
He, through his might, give them mastery
Disperses proud despiteously,
With might of his heart hastily,
At his own will.

Depose the mighty out of place
And meek also he haunsed[5] has,
Hungry and needy, wanting grace
With good he hath fulfilled.
That rich power he hath forsaken
To Israel, his son, betaken;
While to man through him is waken,
And mercy has of his guilt.

As he spake to our fathers before
Abraham and his seed full yore
Joy to the Father evermore
The Son and Holy Ghost.
As was from the beginning
And never shall have ending
From world to world aye wending
Amen! God of mightes most!

Elizabeth.

Mary, now red I that we gone
To Joseph, thy husband, anon
Lest he to miss thee make moan
For now that is most need.

Mary.

Elizabeth, neece, to do so good is
Lest he suppose on me amiss,
But good Lord that hath ordained this
Will witness of my deed.

Elizabeth. [CALLING.

Joseph! God thee save and see
Thy wife here I have brought to thee.

[EXEUNT.

5.—haunsed—enhanced, raised.

[ENTER A MESSENGER.

Messenger.

Make room, lordings and give us way
And let Octavian come and play
And Sybil the Sage, that well fair may
To tell you of prophecy.
That Lord that died on Good Friday
He save you all both night and day
Farewell lordings. I go my way
I may no longer abide.

[EXIT.

[ENTER OCTAVIAN.[1]

Octavian.

I proved prince, most of power
Under Heaven highest am I here
King, prince, baron, bachelor,
I may destroy in great danger,
Through virtue of my degree.

—My name Octavian called is—
All me about, full in my bliss
For wholly all this world I wis
Is ready at my own will.
Therefore as lord now likes me
To prove my might and my postie
For I will send about and see
How many heads I have.

1.—At the end of the old French printed "Mystère du Viel Testament," there is a Mystery, the plan of which resembles this part of our Chester play, and which is entitled, "Le Mystère de Octavian et Sibille tiburtine touchant la conception et autres Sibilles." Octavian is first introduced discoursing with his Senators on the prodigies which had been seen at the beginning of his reign: the scene then changes, and a "painter" is employed to make a superb statue of the Emperor, which is to be placed on a column, and the Senator determines that the Emperor shall be adored as a god: then the *Sibille tiburtine* comes in, and prophecies of Christ. The scene again changes; they tell the Emperor of the statue and the decree of the Senate; but Octavian expresses some fear that he ought not to be worshipped, and finally determines to send and enquire of the Sibil—the Sibil comes, and tells him he must not be worshipped, and Octavian sees the virgin and child in the sky, accompanied with a vision of Paradise.

Note by T. Wright in Shakespeare Society Edition.

All the world shall written be
Great and small in each degree
That dwell in Shire or in City,
King, clerk, knight and knave.

Each man one penny shall pay
Warn them boy, I command thee,
They do the same, say this from me
So all this world shall wit that we
Be sovereign of them all.
Have done, boy! art thou not bown [1] ?

Preco (Page).

All ready, my lord, by Mahoun [2]
First into Judah I will gone
And summon the people every one
Both in Shire and City.

[ENTER TWO SENATORS.

First Senator.

My Lord Octavian we are sent
From all Rome with good intent
Thy men there have each one i-ment [3]
As god to honour thee.
And to that point be we sent
Poor and rich in parliament
For so loved a lord, verament
Was never in this city.

Second Senator.

Yea, sicker [4], sir, their will is this,
To honour thee as god with bliss
For thou did never to them amiss
In word, thought nor deed.

1.—bowne—ready.
2.—Mahomet. After the Crusades this became a common form of imprecation. Our forefathers saw nothing incongruous in this use of it. See our old English word "Mawmetry" or "idolatry."
3.—i-ment—determined.
4.—sicker, sickerly—surely, certainly.

Peace hath been long and yet is
No man in thy time lost ought of his
Therefore their will is now, I wiss
To quite thee this, your meed.

Octavian.

Welcome, my friends, in good fay
For ye be welcome to my paye
I thank you all that ever I may
The homage ye do to me.
But folly it were by many a way
Such sovereignty for to essay,
Since I must die, I wot not what day.
To desire such dignity.

For of flesh, blood and bone,
Made I am, born of a woman,
And sicker other matter none,
Showeth not right in me.
Neither of iron, tree nor stone
Am I not wrought, you wot each one;
And of my life—most part is gone,
Age sheweth him so, I see.

And Godhead asks, in all thing
Time that hath no beginning,
Nor never shall have ending;
And none of these have I.
Wherefore by very proof showing
Though I be highest worldly king
Of Godhead have I no knowing,
It were unkindly.

But yet enquire of this will we,
At her that has grace for to see
Things that afterwards shall be
By ghost of prophecy. [Exit Page.

And after her lore, by my lewtie![1]
Discussing this difficulty
Work and take no more on me,
Than I am well worthy.

1.—lewtie—loyalty.

[Enter Sybil.

Sybil, the sage, tell me this thing
For thou wit hast as no man living
Shall ever be any earthly king
To pass me of degree?

Sybil.

Yea, sir, I tell you without leasing
A bairn shall be born bliss to bring
The which that never had beginning
Nor ever shall ended be.

Octavian.

Sybil, I pray thee specially
By sign thou would me certify
What time, that lord so royally
To reign shall he begin.

Sybil.

Yea, I shall tell you witterly[1]
His signs when I see verily,
For when he comes, through his mercy
On mankind he will myn.[2]

Well I wot, for sooth I wis,
That God will bring mankind to bliss
And send from Heaven—believe well this—
His son, our Saviour.
Jesu Christ, nothing amiss
Called he shall be, and is,
Overcome the Devil and his countise[3]
And be our conqueror.

But what time, sir, in good faie
That he will come can I not say,
Therefore in this place will I pray
To greatest God of might.

And if I see ought to your paie
Ghostly, by any way,

[Exeunt Omnes.

1.—witterly—truly.
2.—another reading has "wynne."
3.—countise—cunning.

Warn you I shall anon this day
And show it in your sight.

[ENTER PRECO.

Preco.

Peace I bid king and knight
Men and women and each wight,
Till I have told that I have tight[1]
Stand still both stiff and stout!
My lord Octavian much of might
Commands you should be ready dight.
Tribute he will have in height
Of all this world about.

He will have written each country
Castle, shire and eke city
Men and women—leeve you me—
And all that be therein.
A penny of each man have will he
—The value of ten pence it shall be—
To knowledge that he hath sovereignty
Fully of all mankind.

Joseph.

Ah, Lord! what doth this man now here?
Poor mens' weal is ever in weere[2]
I wot by this boisterous bear[3]
That tribute I must pay.
And for great age and no power
I wan[4] no good this seven year
Now comes the king's messenger
To get all that he may.

Ah! lief sir, tell me I thee pray
Shall poor as well as rich pay?
My fay! sir, I hope nay
That were a wondrous wrong.

1.—tight—promised.
2.—weere—uncertainty.
3.—"This boisterous fellow's bearing."
4.—wan—gained.

Preco.

Good man I warn thee, in good fay
To Bethlehem to take the way
Lest thou in danger fall to-day
If that thou be too long.

[Exit Preco.

Joseph.

Now sith it may none other be
Mary, sister, now hie we!
An ox I will take with me
That there shall be sold.
The silver of him—so mot I thee—
Shall find us in that City,
And pay tribute for thee and me,
For thereto we be hold.

[Exit Joseph.

[Enter the Expositor.

Expositor.

Lo, Lordings of the miracle here,
Friar Bartholomew in good manner,
Beareth witness withouten were,[1]
As played is you beforne.
Another miracle if I may
I shall rehearse ere I go away,
That befell that ilke day
That Jesu Christ was born.

We read in chronicles express
Some time in Rome a temple was[2]
Made of so great riches
That wonder was witterly,
For all things in yt—leve you me!
Was silver, gold and riche perye;[3]
Third part the world; as reade we
That temple was worthy.

1.—were—doubt.
2.—This is one of the legends connected with the ruins of ancient Rome.
3.—perye or perrye—jewels.

Of each province—that book mynd mase
Their god's image there set was.
And each one about his neck has
A silver bell hanging.

But when any land with battle
Was ready Rome for to assail,
The God's image without fail
Of that land rang his bell.
And that temple there doubtless
Was called therefore, the Temple of Peace
That throught this sleight, battle can cease,
Throughout the world about.

But he that cunningly this work cast
Asked the Devil as he past—
How long that temple should last,
That he there can build.
The Devil answered subtly
And said it should last sickerly
Until a maiden womanly
Had conceived a child.

They heard and believed, therefore
It would endure for evermore
But that time when Christ was bore
It fell down soon on high
Of which house is seen this day
Somewhat standing, in good fay
But no man dare go well that day
For fiends fantasie.

That day was seen verament
Three suns in the firmament
And wonderly together went
And turned into one.
The ox, the ass, there they were lent,
Honoured Christ in their intent
And more miracles as we have ment
To play right here anon.

[Exit Expositor.

1.—ment—made mention of.

[An Angel enters bearing a star. Enter also Octavian & Senators, to them comes the Sybil.*

Sybil.

Sir Emperor, God thee save and see
Look up on high after me
I tell thee truly that born is he
That passeth thee in power.
That bairn thou sees so great shall be
As none like him in any degree
To pass all kings and eke thee
That born are or ever were.

Octavian.

Ah, Sybil, this is a wondrous sight
For yonder I see a maiden bright
A young child in her arms clight,[1]
A bright cross on his head.
Honour I will that sweet wight
With incense with all my might
For that reverence is most right
If that it be thy reade.[2]
Incense bring, I command in hie
To honour this child, King of mercy.

Should I be God? Nay, nay! witterly
Great wrong I wis it were.
For this child is more worthy
Than such a thousand as am I,
Therefore to God, most mighty,
Incense I offer here.

Then an angel shall sing "Hec est ara Dei."

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* The prophecies and legends of the Sybils, invented in the earlier ages of the Church, were very popular during the Middle Ages. In the well-known hymn of the Romish Church we have

Dies iræ, dies illa
Solvet sæclum in favilla.
Teste David cum Sybilla

1.—clight—closed.
2.—rede or reade—counsel or advice.

Ah, Sybil, hearest thou not this song?
My members all it goeth among
Joy and bliss makes my heart strong
To hear this melody.
Truly it may none other be
But this child is Prince of postie
And I his subject, as I see,
He is most worthy.

Sybil.

Yea, Sir, you shall believe well this
Somewhere in earth born he is,
And that he comes for man's bliss
His tokening this shall show.
Reverence Him, I rede, I wis,
For other God there none is,
He that hopeth otherwise doth amiss
But Him for Christ to know.

Octavian.

Sirs, Senators go home anon
And warn my men every echone
That such worship I must foregone
As they would do to me.
But this child worship each man
With full heart all that you can
For he is worthy to believe upon
And that now I will see.

A Senator.

Ah, Lord, what ever this may be
This is a wondrous sight to see.
For in the star, as thinkest me
I see a full fair maye.
Sir shall this child pass ye
Of worthyness and dignity!
Such a lord—by my lewty—
I wend never had been none.

[EXEUNT OMNES.

(*Expositor enters through curtain.*)

Lordings that this is vereye
By every sign know you may
For in Rome, in good fay,
There is this thing seen.
Was built a church in noble array
In worship of Mary, that sweet may
That yet lasts unto this day
As men know that there have been.

And for to have full memory
On the angels' melody
And of this sight sickerly
The Emperor there knew,
The church is called St. Mary
The surname Ara Coeli
That men know well thereby
That this was fully true.

THE END OF THE NATIVITY PLAY.

THE CHESTER WHITSUN PLAYES.

The Play of the Shepherds.

The Seventh Pageant.

The Paynters' and the Glaisor's Playe.

"The Play of the Shepherds."

First Shepherd (with herbs).

On wolds I have walked full wild
Under bushes my bower to build
From stiff storms my sheep to shield
My seemly wethers to save;
From comely Conway unto Clyde[1]
Under tildes them to hide.
A better shepherd on no side
No earthly man may have.
But no fellowship here I have
Save myself alone, in good fay,
Therefore after one fast will I cry
But first will I drink if I may.

[HIC POTAT.

Ho! Harvey! Ho, ho
Drive thy sheep to the low
Thou may not hear, but if I blow
As ever have I heale:

[Tunc fiat cum cornu et reddit 'Aho'
Tunc venit secundus.

1—Possibly this may be "Clwyd."

Second Shepherd.

Fellow, now we be well met.
One thing methinks us needes
Had we Tud here by us set
Then might we sit and feed us.

First Shepherd.

Yea to feed us friendly—in fay–
Now might we have our service
Cry thou must loud—by this day—
Tud is deaf, and may not well hear us.

Second Shepherd—(vocat submissa voce).

How Tud! come for thy father kin!

First Shepherd.

Nay! fye! thy voice is wondrous dim,
Why knowest thou not him?
Fye man, for shame.
Call him "Tud, Tybbs son,"
And then will the shrew come,
For in good faith, it is his won(t)
To love well his dames name.

Second Shepherd.

How Tud, Tybbs son

Third Shepherd. [ENTERING.

Sir in faith now I come
For yet have I not all done
That I have to do.

Second Shepherd.

Now since God hath gathered us together
With good heart I thank Him for his grace
Welcome be thou—well fair weather,
Tud, will we shape us to some solace.

Third Shepherd.

Solace would best be seen
That we shape us to our supper
For meat and drink well I ween
To each deed is most dear.

First Shepherd.

Lay forth each man, I beseech
What he hath left of his liveray.[1]

Second Shepherd.

And such store as my wife had
In your sight soon shall you see
At our beginning us for to glad
For in good meat there is much glee.
Here is bread—this day was baken
Onions, garlick and leeks
Butter that bought was at Blacon
And green cheese that will grease your cheeks.

First Shepherd.

My satchel to shake out
To shepherds I am not ashamed.
This ox tongue, pared round about
For your tooth it shall be attamed[2]

Second Shepherd.

Housing enough have we here
While we have heaven o'er our heads.
Now to wet our mouths time were
This flagon I will tame if thou read us.

First Shepherd.

Fellows now our stomachs be full
Think we on him that keeps our flocks
Blow thy horn and call after Trowle
And bid him some of our bitlocks.[3]

1—Allowance. 2—Tasted.

3—Although bitlock in MSS , it is no doubt a mistake for, or a variation of Bittock—a little bit, or small portion. This is a North Country word, and is found in Cheshire.

Second Shepherd.

Well said, Hankin, by my sooth
For that shrew I suppose seeks us
My horn to blow I will not let
Till that lad hath some of our leeks.

Third Shepherd.

Blow a note for that mittinge[1]
While that horn now in thy hand is.

Second Shepherd.

With this horn I shall make a 'ho,'
That he and all the heavens shall hear
Yonder lad that sits on a low
The loud of this horn shall hear.

(Tunc cantabit et dicat TROWLE)

Trowle.

Good lord look on me!
And my flock as they food have
And my good dog Dotinel
That is nothing choice of his chiding.
(Throws himself down.)
If any man come me by
And would know which way best were
My leg I would lift up where I lie,
And wish him the way by East or West-where.
If I rose when I lay
I would think that trouble lost were
For King nor Duke by this day
Rise I will not, but take my rest here.

Second Shepherd.

For that thou savest our sheep
Good knave take and keep.
Since thou may not sleep
Come eat of this sauce.

1—darling, a term of endearment.

Trowle.

Nay but meat, if I may
Of your dighting to-day
I will not by no way
Till I have my wage.
I thought, ere this, to have been gay
See, so ragged is my array
Aye, pinks is your pay
To every poor page.

Second Shepherd.

How should we suffer all this shame
Of a shrew thus to be shente?[1]

Third Shepherd.

This lad list to be lame
And lose a limb or he went.

First Shepherd.

False lad, fye on thy face
On this ground thou shalt have a fall.

Trowle.

And here, sirs, to do you solace
Hanken, shepherd, shame thee I shall,

Second Shepherd.

Boy lest I break thee thy bones
Kneel down and ask me a boon,
Lest I destroy thee here on the stones.
(Laughs)
Cease! lest I shend thee too soon.

Trowle.

Gloe[2] thee to grins and groans
Good were thee thy old rags to save soon.
(They attack him)

1—shente—ashamed.
2—gloe—to enjoy?

Third Shepherd.

Out alas! he lies in his bones
But let me go now to that lad.
Shepherds he shames and shendes
For last now am I out shad[1]

(The ANGEL with a star appears)

First Shepherd.

What is all this light here
That shines so bright here
On my black beard?
For to see this sight here,
A man may be affright here,
For I am afeared.

Second Shepherd.

Afeared for a fray now
May we be all now,
Ah! yet it is night;
Yet seems it day now
Never soothly to say now
See I such a sight.

Third Shepherd.

Such a sight seeming
And a light gleaming
Lets me to look.
All to my deeming
From a star streaming
It to me stroke.

Trowle.

Ah! God mighty is
In yonder star light is
Of the sun this sight is
As it now shines.

1—shad—excelled.

Second Shepherd.

Fellows will we
Kneel down on our knee
After comfort.
To the true Trinity
For to lead us to see
Our elders lord.

Trowle.

Lord of this light
Send us some sight
Why that it is sent.
Before this night
Was I never so affright
Of the firmament.

[Tunc cantabit ANGELUS 'Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax, hominibus bonae voluntatis.']

First Shepherd.

Fellows in fear
May you not hear
This muting on height.

Second Shepherd.

On 'glore' and in 'glere'
Yet no man was near
Within our sight.

Third Shepherd.

Nay, it was a 'glory'
Now am I sorry
With out more song.

Trowle.

Nay, it was 'glory, Glory, Glorious'
Methought that note went o'er the house
A seemly man he was and curious
But soon away he was.

First Shepherd.

Nay it was 'glorum, glarum' with a 'glo'
And much of 'celsis' was thereto
As ever have I rest or rowe
Much he spake of 'glasse.'[1]

Third Shepherd.

By my faith it was some spy
Our sheep for to steal,
Or else he was a man of our craft
For seemly he was and wondrous deft.

Trowle.

One time, he touched upon 'terre'[2]
And that word 'terre' he tamed
And there I took good intent.
And 'Pax' also may not be blamed
For that to this song I assent.

First Shepherd.

Now pray we to Him with good intent
And sing I will and me embrace
That he will let us to be kent
And to send us of his grace.

Angel. [Appearing.

Shepherds, of this sight
Be thou not affright
For this is God's might
Take this to mind,
To Bethlehem go now right
There shall you see in sight
That Christ is born to-night
To kever[3] all mankind.

[Exit Angel.

Trowle.

To Bethlehem take we the way
For with you I think to wend

1—A sly allusion to the Glasiors who were performing the play.
2—There is a play on the word here. *Trowle* thinks of "tar" and the "tar-box" which the Shepherds use.
3—kever—to recover.

The Prince of Peace for to pray
Heaven to have at our end.
And sing we all, I rede,
Some mirth to his Majesty,
For certain now see we it indeed
The King's Son of Heaven is he.

Second Shepherd.

Now sith I have all my will
For never in this world so well I was,
Sing we now, I rede us shrill,
A merry song us to solace.

First Shepherd

Now follow we the star that shines
Till we come to that holy stable
To Bethlehem bend we our lines
Follow we it without fable.

Trowle.

Now sing on, let us see
Some song I will assay
All men sing after me,
For music of me learn you may.

(Tunc omnes pastores cum aliis adjuvantibus cantabunt hilare carmen.)

Now wend we forth to Bethlehem
That is best our song to be
To see the star gleam also
The fruit of that maiden free.

⌈EXEUNT.

(THE SHEPHERDS draw near the crib.)

First Shepherd.

Sym, Sym, sickerly
Here I see Mary
And Jesu Christ fast by
Lapped in hay.

Second Shepherd.

Kneel we down in hye
And pray we Him of mercy
And welcome Him worthily
That woe does away.

Third Shepherd.

Away all our woe is
As many man's moe is
Christ Lord, let us kiss
Thy crache or the clothes.

Trowle.

Solace now to see this
Builds in my breast bliss
Never after to do amiss
Things that him loth is.

Maria. [BECKONING.

Shepherds soothly I see
That my Son you hither sent
Through God's might in majesty
That in me light and here is lent.

First Shepherd.

Great God sitting in Thy throne
That made all things of nought
Now may we thank thee each one
This is He that we have sought.

Second Shepherd.

Go we near anon
With such as we have brought
Ring, bruche, nor precious stone,
Let see if we have ought to proffer.

Third Shepherd.

Let us do Him homage!

First Shepherd.

Who shall go first? The page?

Second Shepherd.

Nay you be fathers of age
Therefore ye must first offer.

First Shepherd. [APPROACHING.

Hail, King! born in a maiden's bower
Prophets did tell thou should be our succour.
This clarkes doth say.
Lo! I bring thee a bell.
I pray thee, save me from hell,
So that I may with thee dwell
And serve thee for aye.

Second Shepherd.

Hail! Emperor of Hell
And of Heaven also
The fiend thou shalt fell
That ever hath been false.
Hail! thou maker of the star
That stood as beforne
Hail thee, blessed bairn,
I bring thee a flagon.

Third Shepherd.

Hail Prince! withouten peer
That mankind shall relieve
Hail thee, foe of Lucifer
The which beguiled Eve.
Hayle! granter of hap
In earth now thou dwelles
Lo! Son I bring thee a cap
For I have nothing else.
This gift I give thee is but small
Though I come hindermost of all
When thou shalt them to thy bliss call
Good Lord yet think on me.

Trowle.

Now Lord, for to give thee have I nothing
Neither gold, silver, brooch nor ring,
Nor rich robes meet for a king,
Nor jewel have I none to give thee
For to maintain thy royal dignity
But my pipe, take that of me
As thou art God and man.

First Shepherd.

Now farewell, Mother and May
For of sin naught thou wottest,
Thou hast brought forth this day
God's Son which of might is most.
Wherefore men shall say
Blessed in every coast and place
Be thou memorial for me and for us all
So that we may from sin fall
And stand ever in Thy grace
Our Lord God be with thee!
(Curtain closes).

Second Shepherd.

Brethren let us all three
Singing walk homewards
Unkind will I in no case be
But preach ever that I can, and cry,
As Gabriel taught by his grace me,
Singing away hence will I.

Trowle.

I red we us agree
For our misdeeds amends to make
For so now I will.
And to that Child wholly me betake
For ever sickerly. [RISES.
Shepherd's craft here I forsake
And to an anchorite's here by
I will in my prayers watch and wake.[1]

1—Probably referring to the Anchorite who occupied the Cell below S. John's Church.

Third Shepherd.

To that bliss bring you
Great God if it thy will be
Amen all sing you
Good men farewell ye.

[EXEUNT.

Trowle.

Well for to fare each friend
God in his might grant you!
For here now we make an end
Farewell! for we go from you now.

[EXIT.

END OF THE PLAY OF THE SHEPHERDS.

THE
CHESTER
WHITSUN
PLAYES.

The Adoration of the Magi.

The Eighth Pageant.

The Vintners' Playe.

"The Adoration of the Magi."

First King.

Mighty God in majesty
That ruleth the people of Judye
When thou on man wilt have mercy
And his sins for-bye,
Send some tokening, Lord, to me,
That same star that we may see
That Balaam said should rise and be
In his prophecy.
For well I wot forsooth, I wis,
That his prophecy sooth is.
A star should rise betokening bliss
When God's son is born.

[Enter Two Kings.

Therefore, these lords and I in fear,
In this mount make our prayer
Devoutly once in the year
For thereto we be sworn.

Second King.

Yea, we that be of Balaam's blood
That prophesied of that sweet food,

When Balaak that king so woode,
To curse would he have made
God's people of Israell.

Third King.

Sir, sickerly you reed on right
Unto that hill I will me dight,
And there beseech God Almight
On us for to have mind.

First King.

Lord what time is it thy will
Balaam's prophecy to fulfill
Give Thou us grace both lowde and still
And by some sign us show!

Second King.

Yea, Lord, though we be unworthy
On thy men thou have mercy
And by thy birth thou certify
Here to thy kings three!

Third King.

Of all this world thou art the weal,
Thou shalt be called Emanuel.
Deem Thee, Lord, with us to deal
And grant us our prayer.
(The Star appears).

First King.

Ah Lord blessed most Thou be
That on thy people hast pity.
Witterly now witten we,
That wrought is our asking.

Second King.

That our prayer heard has he
I lief full well by me lewty!
For in the star a child I see
And very tokening.

Third King.

Yea, least this be some phantasie
Yet pray we all especially
For if he be born verily
More signs will he us show.

Angel.

Ah, rise up ye kings three
And come anon after me.
Into the land of Judie
As fast as ye can hie!
The child ye seek there shall ye see
Born all of a maiden free
The King of Heaven on earth shall be
And all mankind for-bye.

First King.

Lords, hie we thither anon
Now we be bidden thither gone
I will never abide, by my bone,
Till I at him be.

[THE STAR DISAPPEARS.

Lords and I lief well may
That child will shorten well our way
That bringing presents to his pay
And most is of degree.
Alas! where is the star i-wente?
Our light from us away is glent:
Now wot I not where we be lent,
Nor whitherward lies our way.

Third King.

It were good that we enquire
If any the way can us lere.
(Noise without).
Tell us some tidings.

[ENTER A MESSENGER.

Messenger.

Sir, tell me what your will is.

First King.

Can thou say ought what place and where
A child is born that crown shall bear
And of the Jews be king?

Second King.

We saw a star shine verily
In the East in noble array
Therefore we come now this way
To worship him with win.

Messenger.

Hold your peace, sir, I you pray
For if King Herod heard you so say
He would go wild, by my fay
And fly out of his skin.

Third King.

And sith a king is so near
Go we to him in all manner.

Messenger.

You may well see he lives here
A palace in to dwell.
But may he wot, withouten were,
That any is born of more power,
You bring yourselves in great danger
Such tydinges for to tell.

(Here must the Minstrels play).

[HEROD ENTERS.

Messenger.

Oh, noble king, and worthy conqueror
Crowned in gold, sitting on high
Mahomed thee save long in honour.
License I require to come to Thee.

Tydings now my lord I shall you tell
That these three kings do tell unto me
From whence they be I know not well
Yonder they stand as you may see.

First King.

Sir Roy, royale et reverent
Dieu vous gardes Omnipotent.

Herod.

Bien soies venues, rois gente,
Me dites toute votre intent.
(Welcome, stranger kings
Tell me what is your intent.)

Third King.

Infant, queruns[1] de grand parent
Et roi de ciel et terre.
(Seeking a child of great parentage
And king of Heaven and Earth.)

Herod.

Sirs, advise you what you sayne
Such tidings make my heart unfain.
I rede you take those words again
For fear of villainy.
There is none so great that me dare gain
To take my realm and to attain
My power—but he shall have pain
And be punished appeartly.
I am king of kings, none so keen
I sovereign, sir, as well is seen.
I tyrant that may both take and teen
Castle, tower and town.
I am king of all mankind
I bid, I beat, I loose, I bind,

1—Another reading has *queramus*.—This may be a remnant of a French Play, but it is more likely that the Playwright simply meant to represent the language of the Court at that period.

I master the moon ; take this in mind
That I am most of might.
I am the greatest above degree
That is or was or ever shall be.
The sun it dare not shine on me
If I bid him go down.
For all men may wit and see
Both him and you all three
That I am king of Galilee
Whatsoever he says or does
What the devil should this be,
A boy, a groom of low degree
Should reign above my royalty.

First King.

Sir, we see the star appear
In the East, withouten were,
In a marvellous manner
Together as we can pray.

Third King.

By prophecies well wotten we
That a Christ born should be
To rule the people of Judie
As was said many a year.

Herod.

That is false, by my lewty !
But since you speak of prophecy
Whether you say true or lie
My clerk soon shall see.
Sir Doctor, that art chief of clergy
Look up thy books of prophecy,
Of Daniel, David and Esay.
And what thou see'st tell thou me.
These kings be come a far way
To seek a child I heard them say
That should be born in this country
My kingdom to destroy.

Seek each leaf, I thee pray
And what thou find'st in good fay
Tell now here, for I dare lay
That all these lords lie.

Doctor.

Nay, my lord, be you bold
I trow no prophet before would
Write anything your heart to cold
Or your right to deny.

Herod.

Nay my true clerk, that will not I,
Debate with thee, therefore in hie,
Look well on every prophecy.

Doctor.

The holy scripture maketh declaration
By patriarchs and prophets of Christ's nativity.
When Jacob prophesied by plain demonstration
Said the realm of Judah and same regality
From that generation should never taken be.
And now fulfilled is Jacob's prophecy.
For Herod king that is now reigning
Is no Jew born, nor of that progeny
But a stranger by the Romans made their king.

Herod.

This is false! By Mahomed full of might
That old villard Jacob (all doted for age)
Shall withhold with no prophecy the title and
right
Of Roman high conquest which to me is heritage.

Doctor.

Daniel fulfilled with heavenly grace
Prophesied also by divine inspiration
That when he was come, which of all holy was
The most holiest, in earth to take his habitation,

Out of Satan's band to deliver mankind,
Whom sin original piteously did bind,
Then both unctions, sacrifices and rites ceremonial
Of the Old Testament with legal observation,
Shall utterly cease and take their end final,
Through Christ's coming which for man's salvation
A New Testament shall ordain by divine operation
Offering himself in Sacrifice for mankind's offence,
Which from Heaven was exiled through his great negligence.

Herod.

Fie on that dream, reader! such dotards never shall
Nor no sleeping sluggard make my right title cease
But I shall knightly keep it, whatsoever befall
Against that young godling, and if he once do press
This kingdom to claim, or put me to distress
His head off shall I hew.
Yet look if thou find there
Where this boy is born for whom these kings enquire.

Doctor.

Micheias, enflamed with ghostly inspiration,
Prophesied that Bethlehem should a prince forth bring
Ruler of God's people and of the Jew's nation
Should he be born of Israel to be king.
Esay, unto whom the spirit of prophesy
Was singularly given through the Holy Ghost
In this time prophesied that kings witterly,
And folk of strange nations from many a sundry coast,
That prince's birth to magnify which of might is most
Should walk in great light, and brightness should appear
As did unto these kings in a bright star shining clear.

Herod.

Alas, what presumption should move that peevish page
Or any elfish godling to take from me my crown?
But by Mahomet! that boy for all his great outrage
And all his partakers I shall slay and beat down
And both of him and his final destruction make
Such vengeance and such cruelty on them all will I take
That none such a slaughter was seen or heard beforne
Sith Athalia here reigned.
Yet look and search again
If these kings shall him find and his presence attain.

Doctor.

David of all prophets called most prepotent
Prophesied that kings from Tharsis and Araby
With mystical gifts shall come and present
That lord, that king, and high Messie, (Messiah)
That in Bethlehem shall be borne
A child to save that was forlorne.
And rule all Israel.

Herod.

By Mahoun! thou art foresworn
Have done; these books were best rent and torn
For he shall be no king in crown
But I fully in my weal.
And mauger David, that shepherd with his sling
Esay, Jeremy with all their offspring
Here get no other Messiah nor king
From my right title to expel.
This realm is mine and shall be aye
Manfully to maintain it while I may.
Tho' he bring with him to-day
The devil and all his host.
But go ye forth ye kings three
And enquire if it so be

But always come again to me,
For you I think to feed.
And if he be of such degree
Him will I honour as do ye,
As falls for his dignity,
In word, thought and deed.

First King.

By leave, sir, and have good day
Till we come again this way.

Second King.

Sir, as soon as ever we may
And as we see so shall we say.

Third King.

And of his riches and of his array
From you we shall not leave.

Herod.

Farewell, lords in good array
But hie you fast again.

[Exeunt Kings.

Herod.

Out alas, what the devil is this?
For shame almost I fare amiss,
For was I never so woe, I wis.
But yet the less it grieves me
That I let go these kings three,
For I shall know now which is he
When they come again.
All three traitors shall be slain,
And that same swaddling swain
I shall choppe off his head.
And raise the country on every side
All that ever may go or ride.

So shall this boy loose his pride
For all his great boast.
(He sinks exhausted).
This boast doth me so great annoy
Thay I wax dull and clean dry.
Have done!—and fill the wine in high
I die but I have drink.

[A PAGE ENTERS.

(MUSIC).

Fill fast and let the cups fly
And go we thither hastily;
For I must ordain curiously
Against this king's coming.

[EXEUNT.

[The ANGEL ENTERS with the star again.
RE-ENTER the three KINGS.]

The IX Pageant, the Mercers.

First King.

Mighty God and most of main
To honour thee we may be fain.
The Star I see is come again
That was out of our sight.

Second King.

The Star yonder over the stable is
I wot we be not gone amiss
For it hath stirred ever ere this
And now there it is glent.

Third King.

What present best will for him fall
Cast we here between us all,
For though he lie in an ox stall,
His might is never the less.

First King.

King of Jews we shall him call
Therefore of me have he shall
That am his subject and his thrall,
Gold ere I pass.
Sith he shall be king most mighty
Tribute he must have truly,
And gold therefore witterly
Is best, as thinks me.

Second King.

And sith he hath in him godhead
Methinks best, as I eat bread
Incense to him through my red
In name of sacrifice.

Third King.

You say full well, you Sirs two
And myrrh is good methinks also.
Since he for man will suffer woe
And die on rood-tree.

Second King.

Gold, love also may signify
For it men give not commonly.
But those they love heartfully,
This child as we do all.
And incense betokeneth, believe I,
Orisons and prayers done devoutly.
Myrrh, death that man hath bodily,
And all these him shall fall.
The star it shines fair and clear
Over his stable aye entire
Here is his dwelling withouten were,
And herein he is lent.

(Curtain draws.)

Third King.

A maiden, sirs, yonder I see
And old man sitting at her knee.
A child also as thinks me
Three persons herein are.

First King.

Hail be thou, Lord Christ and man.
(He kneels.)
Take Lord, here my intention
That I do with devotion
And give me here thy benison
Ere that I go from thee.

Second King.

Hail be thou, Christ Emanuel,
Thou comen are for man's heal.
Bishop I wot thou must be
Incense shall fall best for thee,
And that now here I bring.
In token of the dignity
And that office of spirituality,
Receive Lord, here at me
Devoutly mine offering.

Third King.

Hail conqueror of all mankind,
To do mercy thou hast mind.
The Devil's band to unbind.
Myrrh to thee here have I dight,
To balm thy body fair and bright.
Receive my present, sweet wight,
And bless me with thy hand.

Maria.

You royal kings in rich array,
The high Father of Heaven I pray
To yield you your good deed to-day.
For his mickle might.

And give you will, now and alway
To yearn the life that lasteth aye.
And never to fall out of the fay,
That in your hearts is plight.

Joseph.

You kings all, comely of kind,
Full faithfully you shall find,
This goodness that God will have in mind
And quite you well your meed.

Angel.

I warn you comely kings three
My Lord would not you spilled be
Therefore he send you word by me
To turn another way.
Herod's fellowship you shall flee,
For your harm ordained has he,
Therefore go not through his country
Nor the gate you came to-day.

First King.

Ah, high Lord, that we honour here,
That warns us in this manner,
Else had we wend without were,
To him that would us spill.
Farewell, Sir Jasper, brother to you
King of Tharsis most worthy.
Farewell, Sir Balthasar, to you I bow
I thank you for your company.

Third King.

Farewell, Sir Kings, both in fear[1]
I thank you both of your good cheer.
He that shaped both sea and sand
Send us safe into our land.
Kings two, give me your hand,
Farewell and have good day.

1—in fear—in company.

Doctor.

(To end the play.)

Christ give you grace to take the way
Unto the joy that lasteth aye
For there is no night, but ever day
For all you thither shall go.

.....

FINIS DEO GRACIAS!

.....

To Him this book belongs
I wish continual health
In daily virtue for to flow
With floods of godly wealth.

PRAY EVER.

These Plays were performed by the English Drama Society, under the direction of Mr. Nugent Monck, at Chester, Thursday, Nov. 29th, 1906.

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